Incorporation of the Ottoman Empire into the Capitalist World-Economy, 1750-1839

Barbara Reeves-Ellington

In 1977, Immanuel Wallerstein proposed a research agenda to answer the question: When and by what process did the Ottoman Empire become incorporated into the capitalist world-economy? He also asked whether incorporation was a single event or aseries of events for the different regions of the Empire--Rumelia, Anatolia, Syria, and Egypt. He suggested the answer be sought in Ottoman production processes and tradepatterns between 1550 and 1850.

By 1980, Wallerstein had answered his own question. When the European base of the capitalist world-economy began to develop its boundaries in the sixteenth century, the Ottoman Empire remained outside the system. Between 1750 and 1839, the process of incorporation into the capitalist world-economy was complete and the Ottoman Empire had been peripheralized. Wallerstein did not comment whether incorporation was a single event or a series of events.

In this paper, I argue that current scholarship fails to support Wallerstein's version of incorporation of the Ottoman Empire into the capitalist world-economy. I examine Wallerstein's arguments and critique his discussion based on my own interpretation of recent work by Ottoman and Balkan historians pertaining to Rumelia (Southeastern Europe).

According to Wallerstein, a world-economy is a single social economy containing multiple state or political structures that operates on the basis of a capitalist mode ofproduction and in which ceaseless accumulation of capital guides the system.

Wallerstein recently added the word "ceaseless" (his italics) to his definition in order to distinguish his paradigm of the capitalist world-economy with its origins in the sixteenth century from other paradigms that trace the origins to earlier points in history.

The capitalist world-economy comprises a core, a periphery, and a semiperiphery. Nation-states reach the core by successfully exploiting other geographic areas in the periphery. The semiperiphery forms a buffer zone, where geographic areas can moveup into the core or down into the periphery. Geographic areas outside the world- economy are relegated to the external arena. They are eventually and inevitably incorporated into the system, however. During incorporation, a geographic zone is "hooked" so it can no longer escape. Peripheralization follows, whereby the zone is swallowed up in the capitalist mode of production, governed by pressures for capital

accumulation at the core. The zone is exploited chiefly for raw materials and forced toimport finished products from the core. The notion of exploitation is key to an understanding of Wallerstein's view of the capitalist world-economy and his interpretation of incorporation into it.

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Economic Factors
Sudden increase in volume of trade

Citing data provided by Bruce McGowan, Wallerstein and Kasaba claimed thatexports of cotton increased approximately two-fold between 1750 and 1789.
However, except for France, the majority of the exports were headed not for the capitalist core but instead for Austria, Switzerland, Saxony, Prussia, and Italy. According to Fikret Adanir, Balkan cotton was not of the quality of American and Indian cotton, which England preferred. Moreover, geographic regions in the empirewere clearly experiencing different trade patterns. The largest export increases were recorded from the ports of Smyrna and Salonica in the Balkans, but were partially offset by reductions from Syria and Constantinople.

Additional evidence supplied by John Lampe suggests that contribution of Ottoman trade to French and especially British commercial profit and capital formulation was minuscule during the eighteenth century. While cotton exports to France and England doubled between the late seventeenth and late eighteenth centuries, exports of semi- processed goods to northwest Europe also increased. As regards trade imbalance, onlyConstantinople ran an import surplus. Both Lampe and McGowan argued that the empire as a whole, and the Balkans in particular, continued to record an export surplusthroughout the period. Thus, increased export of raw materials was not associated with enforced importation of finished goods. Moreover, increased foreign trade has to be put into perspective. According to Sevket Pamuk, in the early 1820s, foreign trade represented only about two to three percent of overall volume of production in the empire.

Shift in exports to raw materials

A shift in exports from luxury goods to raw materials is a factor of incorporation intothe world-economy. Wallerstein and Kasaba noted that during the second half of the eighteenth century, "a considerable fraction of the Ottoman exports started to be comprised of commercial crops, especially cotton, maize, and tobacco." They provided no hard evidence to support this claim.

What was occurring was not a shift from trade in luxury goods to export of raw materials but rather a shift in the type of raw materials being exported. According to McGowan, Ottoman trade in raw materials was far more heterogeneous. Founded on wheat and silk in the sixteenth century, at the height of Ottoman power, it grew to include cattle, wool, mohair, hides, and finally cotton and tobacco. By the late seventeenth century Ottoman raw exports were three to four times the value of raw grain exports from Baltic trade. Moreover, although cotton, maize, and tobacco beganto be exported in large quantities during the late eighteenth century, cotton in particular had long been cultivated in Anatolia and the Balkans and had been one of the principle exports of the empire since the fifteenth century.

Based on this evidence, Ottoman trade with the core was not limited to luxury goods before the eighteenth century. Moreover, trade was arranged at Ottoman conveniencefor surplus produce after provisioning of the capital and other large cities, and, according to McGowan, trade treaties in this period could be cancelled unilaterally bythe Ottomans. Thus, the empire was hardly "hooked" into incorporation before this time.

Expansion of çiftliks associated with second serfdom

Wallerstein and his co-authors claimed that the increase in cotton exports was associated with the expansion of land use known as çiftliks (translated by them as "plantations"), which, they stated, entailed enserfment of peasants. They argued that,"although small peasant property was not completely destroyed, usury mediated the accumulation of capital in the hands of powerful landlords.

In contrast to the notion of enserfed peasants on plantations, several scholars, including Lampe, McGowan, and Sevket Pamuk, have argued that agriculture throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries remained on a small-scale basis. Using the arguments of Bulgarian scholars, Lampe noted that "we can only call this çiftlik regime 'feudal,' with 'semi-capitalist' features in some regions, and not virtually capitalist as suggested by Wallerstein." He contended that the dates of origin, size, and nature of the çiftliks suggest "an internal Ottoman dynamic more fiscal than commercial, more military than civilian in character."

As to date of origin, çiftliks developed chiefly along the Black Sea Coast and in Macedonia early in the seventeenth century and had reached their full extent by 1700. They were hereditary land possessions claimed by the heirs of cavalrymen (sipahi) who had been granted use of land during their lifetime in exchange for military duty. The Ottoman state was eventually obliged to acknowledge the hereditary nature of these lands given the contraction of the empire, the absence of newly conquered lands,and the need for taxes.

The çiftliks covered no more than twenty percent of cultivated land and engaged no more than ten percent of the population. Most holdings were small and few yielded a large marketable surplus. Their normal size was 15 to 30 acres. They were farmed ona seasonable basis by peasants who paid a semiannual rent. Inalcik has described several different types of çiftlik: some were rented by peasants; others operated on a wage-labor system. He also noted that çiftliks were not given over to monoculture (cotton). Some encompassed vineyards and orchards, and many of the larger çiftliks were converted to cattle ranches or dairy farms. Thus, they were hardly plantations and did not entail serfdom.

Decline of manufacturing sector

Wallerstein and Kasaba claimed that Ottoman manufacturing declined in the nineteenth century as a direct result of the decline of the guilds and the stipulations of the Anglo-Turkish Commercial Convention of 1838. The guild argument went as follows. As early as the seventeenth century, people left rural areas to avoid war and natural disaster, migrating in large numbers to big cities. Unemployment became a serious problem, the domestic market contracted sharply, and integrity of the Ottomanguilds became vulnerable. As a result, the Ottoman state lost control of production and the guilds were left vulnerable to competition from European commodities. The absence of industrial protection "forced Ottoman provinces to become suppliers of raw materials for Europe and buyers of European manufactured goods."

Leaving aside the issue that there were no large cities in the Balkans in the early nineteenth century (let alone the seventeenth), and that movement was chiefly fromthe lowlands to the hills because of brigandage (kurdzhalistvo), an issue to which I will return, the suggestion that European commodities flooded the market and madefor a trade imbalance has been refuted by John Lampe.

What Wallerstein and Kasaba failed to mention when they describe guild vulnerabilityis that the Ottoman state intentionally took steps to produce that vulnerability.
According to Donald Quataert, the guilds practiced protectionism, and the best organized advocates of protectionism were the Janissaries, who were slaughtered inIstanbul in 1826 on the order of the sultan. Quataert has suggested that the guilds

stifled commercial competition within the Ottoman Empire thanks to their protectionby the Janissaries. After the Janissaries were murdered, the guilds could no longer restrict trade, and the state could promote free trade. Michael Pailaret has termed theevent a "well executed bloodbath," and Stavrianos described it as a "holocaust," in which 6,000 Janissaries were killed and 18,000 exiled. It is hard to understand why Wallerstein ignored the event.

As to the Anglo-Turkish Commercial Convention of 1838, Quataert argued that it waspart of the Tanzimat, that is, an integral part of the Ottoman reform movement. Its signing confirmed a trend well under way in the Ottoman Empire and was not due to pressure from European diplomats. Wallerstein and Kasaba fell into the trap of Eurocentrism describing the Tanzimat period as one of resistance. According to them, the reform decree of 1839 "marked the end of the resistance on the part of the Ottoman bureaucracy to incorporation." Several western scholars, relying on western sources, have claimed that reform was forced on the empire; whereas scholars who have used Ottoman, western, and regional (for example, Balkan) sources have shown that the movement for reform was the result of complex interactions involving internaland external pressure. The impetus for reform, however, dated from the late eighteenth century and came from within. Quataert has joined a small but growing number of historians who criticize the Eurocentric view.

More important, Quataert has challenged the view that Ottoman manufacturing declined in the first half of the eighteenth century. This view is founded on urban- based, guild-organized production but ignores rural industry, household manufacturing, and workshops. Rural manufacturing was not observed by the European travelers whose accounts of urban manufacturing decline form the basis of Wallerstein's and Kasaba's arguments. Moreover, Quataert insisted that it was internaldemand, not Western economies, that drove Ottoman production and trade: the quantity and value of domestic trade surpassed international Ottoman commerce throughout the period 1800 to 1914. Pailaret made the same point, claiming that the boom in rural manufacturing in the second quarter of the nineteenth century served chiefly the domestic market.

Pailaret suggested that urban, guild-controlled, fine-textile industries declined principally in Anatolia. In contrast, a veritable industrial renaissance occurred in theOttoman Balkan lands. Although the woolen manufacturing in Salonica had been declining since the seventeenth century, the town experienced a boom in silk reelingand the manufacture of cotton towels and carpets. Small towns in the foothills of mountainous areas expanded into industrial centers for the manufacture of woolen cloth, cotton towels, and carpets.

Both Quataert and Pailaret suggested that the combination of Ottoman institutionalchange and local entrepreneurship in the second quarter of the nineteenth century contributed to impressive cultural and economic advances in the Ottoman Empire, which fail to speak to peripheralization and immiseration. Their work contradicts Wallerstein and Kasaba's claim that "in the long run, the effects of incorporation ofthe Ottoman Empire into the world-economy proved to be catastrophic for manufacturing in the Ottoman realms as a whole."

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Political Factors
Limits to territorial expansion and breakdown of classical land-tenure system

Wallerstein and Kasaba claimed that, in addition to losing control over the guilds (an interpretation I have already argued against), the Ottoman state also lost control over agricultural production through the breakdown of the timar land-tenure system beginning in the seventeenth century. They argued that the breakdown in the system led directly to a new method of collecting taxes (ilitzam, tax-farming), which resultedin tax-farmers gaining access to the rights of private property on the lands on which they collected taxes. This eventually led to the formation of çiftliks. "These transformations made the concentration of land in private hands and reorganization ofproduction in relation to world markets possible."

Few scholars would disagree that the timar system broke down, that tax-farming was introduced, or that the Ottoman land system was undergoing transformation. But Ottoman land organization was more complex. My argument is based on Fikret Adanir's work.

Under the classic Ottoman system, all land was divided into three categories: miri, orstate land; mülk, or private property; and vakif, which belonged to religious foundations. The timar system was based on state land. As the Ottoman Empire

expanded with conquests of new land, timar land was given to sipahi (cavalrymen) inreturn for military duties. The land reverted to the state upon the death of the sipahi. The land was cultivated by peasants who owned a small area of private land and whose rights and obligations to the sipahi and the state were legally specified.

After the Ottomans failed to take Vienna in 1683, there was no new land for expansion, but this was not critical. Even before this date, the sipahi had become anoutdated fighting force and were gradually replaced by an infantry equipped with firearms. Irregular peasant units replaced them in private armies formed by local notables (ayans). Adanir suggested that changes in land-tenure had more to do withover-taxation, brigandage, climate change, crop failures, famines, and epidemics.

Çiftliks emerged in the sixteenth century from private peasant land and abandoned state land. By this time, the sipahi had gained hereditary rights to their land. Çiftliksbecame more common in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when they weredevoted chiefly to cattle raising, not crop production. Adanir concluded that "in the Balkans as well as in Anatolia, the part played by the çiftlik estates in the economy remained rather negligible."

Rise of local notables

Wallerstein and Kasaba claimed that disorganization of Ottoman central power led toloss of Ottoman control over provincial officials and ayan. The ayan, whose original function was to represent the people in their dealings with the government, acquired substantial power through tax-farming and established "uncontested power in this region through the processes of çiftlik formation."

Historians agree that ayans were able to defy central authority towards the end of the eighteenth century. Some ayans were less interested in defying central power than in filling a vacuum where the central power was unable to control banditry in rural areas:they attempted to maintain a sense of order and protection. Others, such as Ali Pasha and Osman Pasvanoglu, frequently organized bandit raids themselves, fought each other for control of territory, and generally razed the Balkan countryside causing considerable loss of life.

Without the çiftlik argument, Wallerstein could not connect the ayans to incorporationof the Ottoman Empire into the capitalist world-economy. But not all ayans grabbed peasant land, transforming the peasants into slave labor, which they exploited on their"plantations." Quite the reverse. It was the frequent banditry in the Balkans that caused peasants to abandon lowland communities and head for the highlands. Here, they established rural manufacturing workshops and factories that led to the industrialboom described by Pailaret. It cannot be coincidental that these Balkan mountain

towns--Koprivshtitsa, Kotel, Sopot, Gabrovo, and others--were the focus of the Bulgarian cultural revival that began in earnest in the mid-nineteenth century.

Demands for political autonomy

Wallerstein and Kasaba indicated that nationalist demands for political autonomy in the Balkans in the early nineteenth were the result of incorporation. Their suggestionthat the merchant elite "successfully mobilized the predominantly Christian peasantsunder the banner of nationalism against the Ottoman rule" is far-fetched, however.
The merchant elite in the Balkans was very comfortable expanding trade links under Ottoman rule. While many merchants contributed to educational and cultural pursuits, few of them nurtured revolutionary ideas. The nationalist inciters were the educated elite. And neither the merchants nor the "intelligentsia" had much contact with the peasants, who, in any case, as Marx himself noted, were not revolutionary material.

Inadequate diplomacy

Wallerstein and Kasaba noted that with its loss of military prestige and its reversal of fortunes in war, the Ottoman Empire began to lose bargaining power. As a consequence of the treaties of Belgrade (1739) and Kücük Kaynarca (1774), the Ottomans made diplomatic and economic concessions to Russia, Austria, Britain, andFrance, allowing no little interference in the affairs of their state. The intensifying relations between the Empire and the world-economy culminated in the Anglo- Turkish Trade Convention of 1838 and the Gulhane reform edict of 1839 which "marked the end of the resistance on the part of the Ottoman bureaucracy to incorporation." To consider the Gulhane edict as a capitulation to a capitalist core thatmarked an economic incorporation is to miss the point entirely. The Gulhane edict was the result of competing reform forces within the empire. Some reformers looked back to the golden age of empire to institute reform; others looked west to Europe.
The westernizers gained the upper hand, but their decree was very general, an attemptat what we might call civil rights today, influenced to be sure by the ideas of the Enlightenment. It emphasized the rights of all subjects of the sultan, regardless of status and called for a regular system of assessing taxes (abolishing tax-farming) and levying troops. It was followed in 1856 by a reform guaranteeing equality regardless of religion and calling for representational government, which was attempted in the Constitution of 1876.

While influenced by the west, these reforms were not imposed by the west. Nor werethey the result of inadequate diplomacy. Such views are the result of condescending Eurocentrism. By cutting off their periodization at 1839, Wallerstein and Kasaba chose to neglect the Tanzimat period, an era of great social and political transformation as well as economic change. Their insistence on an economic focus

marginalized Ottoman agency and ignored cultural and intellectual trends. In the late-eighteenth century, the Ottoman Empire was very much aware of its own need for change. The impetus for reform came from within, and the edicts of 1826, 1839, and 1856 are all part of the same transformation.

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Barbara Reeves-Ellington Questions

on Wallerstein's Analysis
Some questions on Wallerstein's analysis

In their arguments on incorporation of the Ottoman Empire into the capitalist world-economy, Wallerstein and his co-authors emphasized export trade, land use, and manufacturing. Their discussion focused on trade between the empire and the northwest European core as if the empire were somehow isolated and had no contactwith other parts of the world. How might Ottoman trade with China and Persia between 1750 and 1839 have affected the analysis? In

the early nineteenth century, interstate competition for hegemony in the capitalist corewas fiercest between France and Great Britain. But how does the world-system modelexplain interstate competition between nation-states at the core and world-empires in the European semi-periphery (Austria and Russia) and between the world-empires themselves, all vying for political and economic control in the Balkans at the expense of the Ottomans? And how did the Great Power rivalries influence, contribute to, or hinder incorporation of the Ottoman Empire?

Since capitalist economic relations were spreading through the Balkans by the mid-nineteenth century, how can incorporation of the empire be explained? Could the answer possibly be found in the transmission of ideas, through intellectual propertytransfer or technology transfer? Christopher Chase-Dunn and Thomas D. Hall havesuggested that the process of linkage between the European core and the Ottoman Empire be traced more successfully by a study of four networks: the information

network, the prestige-goods network, the political/military network, and the bulk- goods network. William McNeil has also stated that the world-system approach wouldbenefit in clarity and power if it were "tied more explicitly to a communications network."

Sources

Much of the evidence I have cited against Wallerstein's interpretation of Ottoman incorporation into the world-economy was produced by scholars who directed their arguments specifically against him. Lampe, for example, stated that the notion of a "malignant" world system "flies in the face of existing research on Balkan economic history. It also fails to identify the real restraints on the area's development." Lampe argued that the nature of Ottoman hegemony and the military and fiscal imperatives ofthe Ottoman and Habsburg empires had a "retarding effect" on the Balkans. He suggested that Wallerstein's approach appealed to some Turkish scholars because it absolved Ottoman hegemony of its retarding effect on Balkan development.

Pailaret also targeted Wallerstein directly, noting that "the development experience ofthe Ottoman Empire has been held up as a sombre example of industrial destruction and the creation of dependency at the European periphery. This already well- rehearsed view has been endorsed by Wallerstein (as one might expect)…" For his part, Pailaret argued that the radical changes Ottoman institutions underwent in the first half of the nineteenth century had a profound and beneficial effect on economic evolution in the Balkans, particularly Bulgaria.

Lampe and Pailaret, whose studies were published after Wallerstein's thesis on incorporation of the Ottoman Empire, based their arguments on archival sources andon the work of Bulgarian scholars published in Bulgarian in the 1950s and 1960s.
These works were therefore available to Wallerstein, if only he or his colleagues hadknown about them and could have read them.

Neither Quataert nor McGowan directed their comments against Wallerstein thoughtheir data clearly led them to disagree with some of his interpretations. Wallerstein used some of McGowan's data but chose to ignore some of his interpretations.
Quataert's work was produced well after Wallerstein's publications. To the best of my knowledge, Wallerstein has not responded to the findings of the scholars mentioned here. In contrast, Resat Kasaba, one of Wallerstein's co-authors, has reformulated his arguments on incorporation. He has since argued that throughout the nineteenth century the Ottoman Empire retained a political and economic structure that continuedto operate on a redistributive-tributary mode, that is, goods from the producing elements of society flowed to the non-producing elites (tributes) and entitlements were redistributed according to decisions made by elites. If this is the case, the

Ottoman Empire was still operating as a world-empire and could hardly have been fully incorporated into the capitalist world-economy. One of Kasaba's most interestingdiscussions concerns the reversals of fortune of çiftlik owners between 1750 and 1820, precisely the period during which Wallerstein had argued for the expansion of çiftliks. Overall, Kasaba's most recent work does not support peripheralization of the Ottoman Empire within the capitalist world-economy in the nineteenth century. In contrast, Pamuk has argued in favor of a two-phase incorporation in the nineteenth century based on fiscal rather than commercial evidence.

Conclusion

I have argued that current scholarship does not support Wallerstein's interpretation of incorporation of the Balkan region of the Ottoman Empire into the capitalist world- economy between 1750 and 1839. The most conclusive evidence against Wallerstein centers on land tenure in the second half of the eighteenth century and the state of Ottoman manufacturing in the first half of the nineteenth century. His argument that ashift in the nature of trade from luxury goods to raw materials in the late eighteenth century, associated with changes in land tenure that led to formations of çiftliks basedon coerced labor, does not hold up to scrutiny. His claim that the 1838 Anglo-TurkishTrade Convention was imposed by Britain and led to a collapse of manufacturing hasalso been refuted by recent archival research.

Wallerstein needs to find new evidence before he can claim that the Ottoman Empirewas incorporated into the capitalist world-system between 1750 and 1839, or indeed at any other time. A serious attempt to include the notion of culture, ideas, or communications (in other words, humankind) into world-system theory would surelybe rewarding.

Economic
Factors Political
Factors

The Identity of Black Women in the Post-Bellum Period1865-1885

Carl Greenfeld

Throughout history, the black woman has always had a multitude of responsibilities thrust upon her shoulders. This was never truer than for southern black women in the period between 1865 and 1885. In this span of twenty years, these women were responsible for their children, their husbands, supporting their families, their fight forfreedom as black citizens and as women, their sexual freedom, and various other issues that impacted their lives. All of these aspects of the black woman's life definedwho she was. Each of her experiences and battles shaped the life that she lived, and the way she was perceived by the outside world.

Who were these women, and how did the experiences in their life shape who they were? This essay will argue that these women's identities can be surmised by the wayin which they handled the different responsibilities and experiences that they were exposed to in the aftermath of slavery. These responsibilities and experiences formedwho they were; only by looking at the identities of these women can their lives be studied and explored. In this essay the southern black woman's occupational identity,sexual identity, family identity, and gender identity will be examined. There are, of course, many more specific aspects of these women's identity, but these are the ones that furnish the clearest and most specific view of what these women were about. It isthrough these four aspects of the southern black women's identity a picture of them can be drawn. One will be able to recognize the hardships they overcame and the effort they put forth in order to be seen as citizens of the United States of America.

Occupational Identity

In the period after the Civil War, work was very important to the southern black woman; she was free for the first time and wanted to assert her freedom and independence. One of the first things that the black woman attempted, after gaining her freedom, was to obtain a job. These women learned quickly, however, that they would not be equals just because they were now free. The job opportunities available to black women, like many other aspects of their lives, would be of much less quality than the jobs offered to the rest of the population. They would be low paying, involve extended hours, and would put them in constant danger; "black women would have tonegotiate the literal rough terrain of Atlanta and the social consequences it imposed ontheir everyday lives as they struggled to earn a living for their families and searched for peace of mind." They would have to persevere in their quest to work and support their household.

After the Civil War, all black citizens of the Unites States were allegedly free. The thirteenth amendment banning slavery had been passed and the reconstruction of the South was moving along swiftly. This promised freedom, however, was far from whatwas expected. There were many laws and forces at work to keep blacks in some type of involuntary servitude. Some of the laws that limited black freedom included making it a crime to hire away a worker who had been under contract with a different employer (so called enticement laws), various contract-enforcement statutes that bound the black worker to their employer, and vagrancy statutes in which unemployedblacks were arrested and later forced to work for an employer. These laws operated to deny both black men and black women the ability to search for work or change employers. If a black citizen could not furnish proof of work, he or she could be arrested and later forced to sign a contract with an employer. If a black citizen attempted to change jobs, he or she would be forced into the service of their former employers.

The government of the South was not the only entity that attempted to keep black women from having the freedom to obtain employment. Opposition also came from "white vigilantes, planters, mistresses and overseers, all anxious for the return of a reliable and subordinate labor force." These opposition forces worked closely with thesouthern government, inflicted torture upon blacks living in the South, made sure that the compensation of both black men and black women would be kept at a dishonorable level, and did everything within their power to make the lives and working experiences of the newly freed black women as uncomfortable as possible.
The atmosphere was one in which "organized sexual-assault raids against black women were especially common in rural areas where terrorist groups like the [Ku Klux Klan] thrived." The Ku Klux Klan was one of many organizations that attemptedto put blacks, and more specifically black women, in their place. These groups thrivedon terror to scare, silence, and subordinate these women. Terror was a tremendous incentive for many black citizens to work at the jobs they were told to work at, and to not question their wages or working conditions.

The various terrorist groups and laws that attempted to restrict the black woman's freedom were not the only barriers set up against her. These restrictions and groups were supplemented by the difficulties that black women had in gaining employment,being offered a salary that was close to that of black men, actually obtaining the wages that they had worked for, and being treated as workers and humans rather thanas slaves. The employment experience was rarely a very beneficial one for the southern black woman. Women had to work lengthy hours, at a severely discounted rate, to supplement the salaries of their husbands so that their family could obtain things essential to living. This was the way of life for the black woman whose husband could not earn a sufficient income to support their family (as in most cases).

These women had no choice but to work, and they had to work under the conditionsthat were set forth by their employers.

The job opportunities available to black women in this time period were often meager and involved menial tasks. One must only look to the statistics in seven southern states in 1870. In this year, 36.4 percent of black women worked at home, 23.3 percent worked as servants, and 10.5 percent worked as laundresses. In comparison, .1percent worked in semi-skilled jobs, a negligible amount worked in skilled jobs, and
.1 percent worked as teachers. In this same year, 59.6 percent of white women workedat home, only 5.7 percent worked as servants, and .4 percent worked as laundresses.
The situation that developed was one in which southern black women worked low- skilled jobs, usually the same jobs that they had held before the end of slavery. For example, "by 1880, at least 98 percent of all black female wage-earners in Atlanta were domestics." It got to the point where "virtually every black girl-child, except forthe most affluent, knew that at some time or another she would be cleaning house forwhite folks." There were a limited amount of positions available and black women secured the ones they could get.

It would seem logical that people who worked low-skilled jobs would receive lower pay than those who worked high-skilled jobs, and these black women received these lower wages. The problem now, was that these black women did not receive wages that were comparable even to their fellow low-skilled black male workers. There weremany situations in which black men and black women who held the same occupation earned different wages. According to historian Dorothy Sterling "freedwomen were always paid less than the men. On one Georgia plantation male hands received $140 ayear, women from $60 to $85. In Adams County, Mississippi, Sarah Nelson was promised $10 a month; John, a man working alongside her received $15." Black women in this time period could not achieve equal pay for equal work; they had to be content with what they were offered.

Another problem that black women encountered during their working experience was actually receiving the wages and benefits that they felt they had earned. There were many methods used by southern employers to prevent workers from obtaining the salary they had been promised in their contracts. There were times when "employers would substitute perishables or durable goods in lieu of cash for remuneration, without the workers' consent." and other times when "women could also face deductions for behavioral infractions such as lost time and impudence, or for breakingor misplacing objects." These methods would lead to large deductions from the already low wages of the black worker, whether male or female. One specific exampleof this is the case of the Baldwin family. This family had contracted themselves out to
J.R. Thomas and were supposed to be paid salaries of $140 for David Baldwin, $85for Matty Baldwin (note the difference between the male and female salaries), and

$60 for Mariah Baldwin. On the day they were to be paid, they received $12.40,
$48.53, and $3.15 respectively. Their salaries were reduced for sickness, bad weather,going against orders, and using supplies. Black women were already making less money, but now their salaries were being reduced to almost nothing. There was little they could do about the situation. If they wanted to labor for that employer, they took the salary and benefits they were given and continued working.

The last work-related problem that southern black women had was that they were often treated as slaves rather than as free wage laborers. Often they were beaten or raped with no action being taken against their tormentors. This pattern of abuse canbest be shown in the case of Mary Long. As historian Tera Hunter recounts:

Mary Long refused to cook for her employer, Mrs. Montell, in an attempt to receive aholiday one Sunday, and an argument ensued. Long also refused to accede to her boss's command to keep quiet, which angered Mr. Montell. He stepped in and struck the cook twenty-five times with a hickory stick.

Employers still believed that their employees, many of them former slaves, were theirproperty and could be treated as such. The case was the same for incidents of rape andsexual abuse. Women were raped by their employers and humiliated beyond human comprehension. They still had to be frightened that a man, now called boss rather thanmaster, would approach them and sexually abuse or rape them. In both cases of assault and rape, there were two constants; the conditions under which they occurred were similar in slavery and in freedom, and there were few ways in which these blackwomen could redress the wrongs that had been committed against them. It would appear that the southern black female worker had nothing that could even resemble freedom.

This, however, is not true. The southern black woman did have some advantages that emerged with the advent of liberation. She might not have had considerable job opportunities, equal pay (or any pay at all), or freedom from being abused, but she was still able to gain satisfaction through gestures that would irritate her white employers and allow the black woman to regain her self-respect. These gestures wereonly possible because of the freedom that they now possessed. Eventually, "it was thefreedwomen's refusal to work as they had under slavery that planters and northern agents of Reconstruction commented on most frequently and most bitterly." Their freedom may have been limited, but it did allow these women some forms of retribution against their former proprietors. The two main gestures that were utilized by southern black women included relocating themselves and their families away from their place of employment, and withholding their services from their employers.

One of the black women's main goals after the Civil War was to proceed as far as possible from any aspects of slavery that remained. There was a "great desire to leave,to walk away from the plantation, to go in search of a place to live, away from the oldreminders of their former status." They did this by physically moving themselves and their families away from the plantations and the homes in which they worked. By moving away, these women made many of their employers upset, as the employers felt they were losing a portion of the control that they exercised over the female blackworkers. The black working woman did not care, however, and in fact,

The desire to distance themselves physically from erstwhile masters ranked high intheir priorities. In a walking city like Atlanta, cooks, maids, and child-nurses couldlive in areas that were within easy reach by foot, yet were far enough to establish autonomous lives.

This distance was very important to the black woman. It made her feel like she was areal person who had a life outside her job. She did not have to reside with her employer twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, but could instead work a full day and still go home to her family. In this way, the black woman asserted her independence, restored her self-respect, and agitated the white establishment who wanted her to be subservient and who wanted to keep her tied to the employers plantation and/or home.

The other method that southern black women used to assert their independence after the Civil War and emancipation was to withhold services from their employers. Therewere obviously certain situations when this could not be done, but the opportunity didpresent itself for women who were not forced to sign long-term employment contractsand who had no reservations about leaving without notice. The two main techniques these women practiced in order to withhold their services were to quit at any time or to go on strike. By relinquishing jobs any time they desired, these women were once again asserting their independence. Unlike in slavery, these women could depart fromtheir jobs for any reason. "African-American women decided to quit work over such grievances as low wages, long hours, ill treatment, and unpleasant tasks." There were also other benefits of relinquishing employment. Not all of these women were assuredof obtaining improved jobs, "but [quitting] was an effective strategy to deprive employers of complete power over their labor." The working black woman thus secured a measure of revenge against her white employers.

The same can be said of strikes by black women. The most famous strikes in this period were the washerwomen's strikes that occurred in Jackson, Mississippi in 1866,in Galveston, Texas in 1877, and in Atlanta, Georgia in 1881. In all of these instances,black women held a valuable commodity, their laundry skills, and used them to assert their freedom, regain their self-respect, and inflict injury upon their white employers

and families. These strikes allowed them to procure more valuable benefits, higher salaries, and compelled whites to acknowledge the importance of black citizens in their lives. In the event that strikes did not result in elevated wages or benefits, they did allow these women to stand up for themselves and force the white establishment to work more arduously. Few things could have made the striking women more jubilant then hearing that "rather than give in to the strikers' demands or burden theirhusbands' salaries, 'some of the first ladies of this city have announced themselves asready to carry their accomplishments into the kitchen.'" These black women were standing up to those who had oppressed them, and, for a change, making their employers lives more difficult.

The black woman's occupational identity in the period after the Civil War was one of frustration and reciprocation. There were many barriers preventing them from succeeding, but these women did not buckle. They used the opportunity advanced by emancipation to make their lives conform to their own wishes, to irritate the powerful white establishment, and to maintain their identities as free black women in the South.They did not give in to the pressure that was inflicted upon them, but instead used the importance of their labor to their own advantage.

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Carl

Greenfeld

Sexual

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The black woman's sexual identity in the post-bellum period was also one that was fraught with a myriad of negatives. Much like the situation that evolved in slavery, freedwomen who worked for or were exposed to white men were often the recipientsof sexual assault and rape. The issue of sexual assault and rape towards the black woman was an important component of the white man's plan to keep them subservient. Rape is not a crime of passion, but an act of power over another. It allowed the man to have control, and thus power, over a woman. This situation developed in the reconstruction period. White males believed that they had to exhibittheir superiority and strength over black women. Like the black codes or withholding

payment, rape was a way for white society to place the black woman in a degradingand submissive position.

It should come as no surprise that black women were often the targets of sexual assault and rape. As Darlene Clark Hine and Kathleen Thompson state, “a huge majority of employed black women worked in white households under the authority of and in proximity to white men, [and] they were continually exposed to sexual harassment.” The sexual abuse also did not end in the workplace. There were many situations in which white men went to the homes of freedwomen and sexually abused them. The Ku Klux Klan was one of many terrorist groups that organized raids in which white men would go into the homes of black families and rape the black women. There are also examples such as when “near Hamburg, South Carolina, five masked whites broke into Chandler Garrot’s home and raped his wife.” One other example occurred when the family of Joe Brown was tortured because he had witnessed a Klan murder. In this assault, the white men made all the women in his family, even his young children, take off all their clothes, after which they were beaten unmercifully with a piece of fishing pole. There was literally nothing that blackwomen could do to avoid these situations. They needed to work so that their families would not starve, but most of the jobs available to them involved the company of white males. They attempted to transplant themselves and their families away from the homes and plantations on which they worked, but organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan and other miscellaneous vigilante groups would proceed to attack them in their own homes. The way that they reacted to these abuses, however, exhibited countless attributes of the southern black women’s strength and identity.

The black women in the South who were subjected to rape and sexual abuse had littlerecourse. Their husbands signed petitions, created organizations, and spoke out about the sexual mistreatment that the women received, but these efforts to protect them fellon deaf ears. There were even examples in which “ex-slave women…pressed chargeswith the Freedmen’s Bureau against sexual abuse by white men.” These women madean attempt to resist, but little was done on their behalf by the southern white establishment or the northern bureaucrats. Their only recourse was to complain to theauthorities and hope that something would happen, or quit their jobs and pray that no men or terrorist organizations would come to their homes with sexual intentions.
These southern black women did not just stay back and passively accept the mistreatment, but instead made efforts to tell their story to the police or leave situations that were unhealthy. These women made an effort to protect what was important in their lives. The black woman looked to her legal marriage, her children,and her friends, for inspiration in protecting herself and her loved ones from the sexual deviance of whites.

The black woman's sexual identity in the post-bellum period was one that was composed of constant fear mixed with empowerment. The very real threat of sexual abuse permeated their entire lives from their occupational experiences to their existence in their home. There was almost no escape from the southern white "predator". These women did, however, fight back. They lobbied to make their storiesknown to the authorities and the freedmen's bureau. They also strived to vacate situations that might have the potential to result in sexual mistreatment. Unlike their experience under the institution of slavery, these women did have some control over their actions and their bodies. They were in the process of reclaiming their sexual identity from pervasive southern forces.

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The role of family was also very important to southern black women after the Civil War. They would no longer have to worry about their husbands or children being soldaway from them. They would no longer have to dread a situation in which their husband inhabited a different plantation than the one on which they lived. The freedom these women now had allowed them to live in a situation in which "putting marriages on a legal footing bolstered the ability of ex-slaves to keep their families together, to make decisions about labor and education, and to stay out of the unscrupulous grasp of erstwhile masters." Black women could raise a family in the manner in which they had observed free white women raising theirs. This desire for family life, however, like every other part of the freedwomen's life, did not come without hardships and great sacrifices. A complete family and the ability to provide for this family did not just appear after the flames of the Civil War had been extinguished. The black female, in most cases, needed to locate one or more of her immediate family members who had run away or been sold, and also needed to support her family in an era in which black men were paid little and black women even less.

In the aftermath of slavery, black women often did not have their complete family with them. They had husbands and children who had been sold too distant places where they might have died or married other women. These freedwomen were determined to rebuild their families. One of the first things that these women did afterslavery was attempt to locate family members who had been sold or otherwise movedaway. If there was a situation in which:

Word came through the grapevine that a daughter-sold off at ten or twelve-was working on a farm sixty miles away, her mother would begin walking and would notstop until she stood at the gate of that farm with her daughter in her arms.

These black women were willing to go anywhere and make any sacrifice to rebuild their families. They persevered for many years after the Civil War, moving around theSouth and trying to find the remnants of their families.

The black woman, however, was often not successful in rebuilding her family. The situation became one in which "the challenge for former slaves was often not so muchrebuilding families as creating them." In many cases their was nothing left or no knowledge available about the freedwoman's family. This did not stop the quest of black women, but instead made them more determined to form a family life. If they knew they could no longer be with their husbands because they had remarried, been killed, or could not be located, the women found another husband. If these women were themselves remarried, and a former husband tracked them down, they chose whom they preferred to be with; these women did whatever was necessary to put their families back together or to start new ones. As Hine and Thompson state, "The fact that African Americans were able to put their families together as well as they did is a tribute to the abiding respect for family in the culture." The success and the hard workinvolved in their endeavor to recreate their families illustrate the importance of family to the southern black woman. The black woman wanted and needed family; she used whatever means were necessary to secure the family life that she craved and that was so valuable to her. Once the freedwoman had rebuilt or recreated her family, she needed to aid in its economic support. According to Anglo-American gender roles, theman went to work to provide financially for his family and the woman took care of thehome and the children. This ideology, however, did not conform to the structure of theblack southern family in the post-bellum period. The main reason for this is that "black husbands have had lower labor income and higher unemployment than white husbands, and non-labor income for blacks has also been less than that for whites." The black husband, for the most part, did not have the financial ability to support his family while his wife stayed home. In addition to taking care of the home, raising the children, and tending to the needs of her husband, the southern black woman now had to provide for her family economically.

The effect of this new responsibility on the black female was thus two-fold. First, as discussed earlier in this essay, the women now had to contend with the difficulties andthe unfairness that was inherent in the work experience of freedwomen in the South.
They would be exposed to the beatings, the sexual abuse, and the lost pay. Second, black women would have to work harder than ever in order to complete all the tasks that they now had committed themselves to; “part of the price [for freedom] was enormously long hours, for black women ended up working in the fields when they were needed-as they often were-in addition to their work at home.” The freedwomen, however, did not complain about the extra effort. They saw the negatives of extra work as being strongly counteracted by the positives of family life. These women nowhad their freedom, their husbands, and their children, and were not going to permit some inconveniences to stand in the way of their happiness.

Family identity was a strong presence in the African American woman’s life. She waswilling to travel any distance or make any effort to regain lost family members or recreate a new family structure. After she rebuilt or created her family, she was willing to sacrifice all the time that she had in her life, whether it was by working, staying home, or as in most cases, both. She would spend all day laboring in the fieldsor in an employers dwelling, and then come home and take care of her house, her children, and her husband. The freedwoman’s dedication to the institution of family displays the importance of this part of her identity.

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The gender identity of southern black women was also important in the post-bellum period. The voting movement among freedwomen will be used as an example of howwomen fought for their rights as females, and as African Americans, as well as showing their proclivity for doing what they believed was best for them and their family. In this period, black women believed that the right to vote, whether it was for

them or for black men, was the key to their continued freedom. They looked at suffrage as a means to an end . Much of the importance of suffrage after the Civil Warwas polarized around the newly proposed fifteenth amendment.

The battle for the right to vote was a good example of the gender identity of black women after the Civil War. In this time period, the battle for the black woman's right to vote revolved around the fifteenth amendment. The fifteenth amendment, first proposed in 1868, was to guarantee black men the right to vote. There were two camps, however, that disagreed upon the proposed wording and effect of this amendment. There were those women who fought for the right of black men to vote, with black woman waiting their turn. There were also those women who believed thatthey deserved the right to vote without delay. Those who wanted to wait believed that "women should step back and wait their turn, lest they jeopardize the fare of men whoso desperately needed political power." In fact, Eric Foner, a professor of history at Columbia University states, "most black women seem to have agreed that the enfranchisement of black men would represent a major step forward for the entire black community." These women believed that their interests could best be provided for by first making sure that black men achieved the right to vote. The other group of women believed that the right to vote for black women, as well as for black men, should be included within the fifteenth amendment and should be immediate. Many ofthese women attended rallies or tried to register to vote. They were not content with allowing black men to acquire the right to vote first, as they believed they were equal citizens and therefore should have equal privileges.

Although there were different views on whether women should fight for the immediate right to vote, there was an important similarity between views. Each group believed that they were doing what was in the best interests of the black woman in thistime period. The question of the rightness or wrongness of these groups is immaterial. Both groups showed their strength of character and belief in doing what was most advantageous for their race and gender, regardless of the position that they took on this issue. The women who wanted to wait believed it was more important to make sure that black men got suffrage so that they would have a political base of power for their family. Those who wanted immediate suffrage believed that the only way to guarantee their freedom was through instantaneous suffrage for all, whether white or black, male or female. Either way one observed it, the issue involved was one of continued freedom and long term prosperity. Ultimately, in 1870, the fifteenth amendment was passed and only black men were given the right to vote. The important issue, however, was that "black women had not been granted the vote alongwith their husbands and fathers. But they did manage to make their presence known." They showed that they would fight for what they believed was important in their lives,even if it included disagreeing with other members of the same race or sex.

There is one more point to be made on the gender identity of these black women. Only one specific example, the women's suffrage movement, has been given in this essay to show the gender identity of the freedwomen in this time period. The gender identity of these women, however, is also composed of the three identities, (work, sexual, and family) that have been discussed previously in this essay. The examples such as lower pay at work, sexual abuse, and being expected to take care of the home,are all experiences and responsibilities that were forced upon the African American woman and which contributed to her gender identity. This concept is important because it shows that not all the identities that were representative of black women inthis era were mutually exclusive, but worked together and in combination with each other. Although it might appear in this essay that each of the identities presented only exist apart from one another, they are indeed connected.

The southern black woman went through many hardships with the conclusion of the Civil War. At the outset of this time period, the freedwoman learned "that emancipation was only the first step on the road to freedom, not the last, and the obstacles along the way would be formidable." These women were forced to work forlittle pay, sexually abused, forced to recreate and support their families, and were exposed to a multitude of other degradations and insulting practices in their lives. Theconstant throughout these experiences, however, was the strength and grace that theseAfrican American women displayed through these living conditions. If she was compensated less than she deserved or was showed disrespect on the job, she either quit or went on strike until she secured what was rightfully hers. If her family had been sold away during the age of slavery, she would go wherever necessary in order to reclaim them. These women had the strength of character that was necessary to toilin the fields or in an employer's home all day, but would then allow them to journey home and care for their husbands and children.

One would most likely describe these women and their identity as both strong and persistent. The result of their experiences, their responsibilities, and ultimately their identity was their ability to accept the difficulties in their lives, knowing that this acceptance was the key to living the kind of life they coveted. These women learned to fight the battles that they could and postpone the battles that would harm their future prospects for happiness. The identity of these women was not one of subservience to the more powerful white establishment, but one of attaining the necessary freedom in life that made the African American woman content. Darlene Clark Hine and Kathleen Thompson put it best when they said, "they [southern black women] were willing to pay a high price for these things, so crucial to the sense of freedom." The southern black woman worked unmercifully and accepted the burden of being an African-American woman in the South in order to acquire the freedom that was so important to her.

Universal Churches and the Role of Religion in Arnold J.Toynbee's A Study of History

Phyllis

Amenda

Introduction

Religion has always been one of the universal attributes of human society. All civilizations look for an explanation of how the world works and try to decipher their own place in that world. No world historian should attempt to study either individual societies or a global society without seriously studying the place that the search for thedivine has played in the human story.

Arnold J. Toynbee paid particular attention to the role of religion in the later volumesof his twelve volume work, A Study of History. He became particularly interested in the relationship between what he called universal religions and universal states.

Toynbee's interest in religion mirrored the publication history of A Study of History.Volumes I-VI were published in 1939 and have little mention of religion as Toynbee develops his civilizational paradigm. The next four volumes, VII-X, were published fifteen years after the first six, in 1954. Toynbee makes no secret of the fact that the war changed his outlook on civilizations and their history. His writing on religion is asignificant part of this change, some might say that Toynbee becomes obsessed with religion, but there certainly is no doubt that religious concerns become a dominant theme in the later volumes of A Study of History. To understand Toynbee's understanding of religion, this paper will first summarize the role of religion in the first six volumes of the work and then undertake an analysis of the section on "Universal Churches" in Volume VII.

Basic concepts in *A Study of History*

In the first six volumes of his history, Toynbee lays out his "Challenge-Response- Mimesis" paradigm, concentrating on the Challenge and Response phases in VolumesI-III. Volumes IV through VI deal with the breakdown of civilizations. In the first three volumes, there is little mention of religion, except as a characteristic of a given civilization. In Volumes IV-VI, Toynbee begins to look at what makes civilizations decline. "The Disintegrations of Civilizations" is Toynbee's title for the fifth section of his work which comprises both Volumes V and VI. In Volume V, Toynbee begins

to look at various social groups which comprise a civilization, particularly, “external”as well as “internal proletariats.”

In using the term, “proletariats,” Toynbee draws on the Latin etymology:

derived from a Latin word coined for the statistical purposes of the Roman census todescribe a category of Roman citizens ‘who had nothing but their children to enter intheir returns as their contribution to the common weal.’

Proletariats, as conceived of by Toynbee, are those who are on the outside; those whoare not in control or who have a large stake maintaining the social order.

[A] social element or group which in some way is ‘in’ but not ‘of’ any given society at any given stage of society’s history . . . The true hall-mark of the proletarian is neither poverty nor humble birth but a consciousness—and the resentment which thisconsciousness inspires. . .

This consciousness can be exhibited by groups both geographically within as well aswithout the society.

External proletariats are those who have geographically separated from the society bysome act of withdrawal with a clearly defined frontier separating them from the dominant minority. Toynbee usually characterizes the external proletariat as “primitive” or “barbarian war bands.” The barbarian hordes provide an external threatto a disintegrating society and will continue to pester the society from without until they can break through its defenses and conquer. Their ultimate victory will occur when the society is sufficiently weakened from within that it cannot fight off the external threat any longer.

This internal weakening will be the result of class warfare between the dominant minority and the internal proletariat. Toynbee’s concept of the internal proletariat is much closer to the conventional meaning of ‘proletariat’ that we associate with Marx and socialism. In Volume V, Toynbee describes the internal proletariats of the variouscivilizations he has identified. In discussing the dynamics of the internal proletariats in various societies, Toynbee begins to develop his thesis that this disaffected social group plays a role in introducing new religious ideas. According to Toynbee, philosophy and the concept of public service come from the dominant minority, but “[a]mong the works of the Internal Proletariat the counterparts of the philosophies are‘higher religions’, while the counterpart of the universal state is a universal church.”

Toynbee distinguishes between primitive and higher religions: “[F]or a primitive religion is merely one expression, among many, of the corporate life of some local

human community, whereas a ‘higher religion’ is the worship of a Godhead that is conceived of as transcending the whole of human life as well as the whole of the Material Universe.” For Toynbee, it is the study of these higher religions and their role in civilization that will become a larger focus in the later volumes of A Study ofHistory.

Breakdown and the Rise of Universal States

In Toynbee’s Challenge-Response-Mimesis paradigm, creative responses to the challenges facing a society enable a society to grow. The group that leads the society through the challenges is called the creative minority by Toynbee. As long as these supermen (in the Nietzchean sense) are the impetus for the society, that society will beon the ascendant phase of its evolution. But what happens if the creative minority loses its edge, for some reason no longer has the “mystically inspired personalities” which are needed to maintain the creativity of response that gives a civilization its uniqueness? Toynbee calls this point the “breakdown” of the Challenge-Response- Mimesis paradigm. Costello defines this as “the breakdown of civilization [which] occurs in the moral failure of the leading minority and the consequent secession of their potential successors.” The creative minority, through its leadership, becomes the dominant minority, but when the dominant minority loses its cultural hegemony, the response of the proletariats becomes mechanical and ritualistic. It is at this point that the internal proletariat begins seeking for a new value system, a new aspiration, to replace the rigid, unsatisfying gods that have been forced upon them by the dominant minority.

The polity that is controlled by a dominant (but no longer creative) minority is called a universal state by Toynbee. He devotes the first half of Volume VII to describing universal states. Toynbee begins Volume VII by describing the features of a universalstate:

In the first place, universal states arise after, and not before, the breakdowns of the civilizations to whose bodies social they bring political unity. They are not summersbut ‘Indian Summers’, masking autumn and presaging winter. In the second place, they are the products of dominant minorities: that is, of once creative minorities thathave lost their creative power . . .

Toynbee goes on to quote a lengthy passage by Amand Bazard which states that the hallmark of their establishment is negativeness. A third feature is that universal statesare the answer of the society to “a Time of Troubles” which earns the gratitude of thepopulace by establishing order and seemingly stopping the disintegration of the society.

The paradox of universal states is that they appear to be immortal just at the moment they are about to commit euthanasia and succumb to an alien intruder. For examples, one needs only look at the Roman Empire or the British Raj in India. By the time theyappeared immortal, they had already swallowed the poison of their ultimate demise. IfToynbee views the universal state as civilization in decline, does he see any positive virtue to them? He finds two purposes of the universal state. The first is as peacemaker. "Whereas parochial states prey on one another . . . universal states come into existence to put a stop to wars and to substitute co-operation for bloodshed." Thesecond purpose is to spend itself in service to others. The second purpose raises the question: Who are its beneficiaries of this service? Toynbee answers that there are only three choices, a contemporary alien civilization, its external proletariat or its internal proletariat, "and in serving the internal proletariat a universal state will be ministering to one of the higher religions that make their epiphany in the internal proletariat's bosom."

It is in serving the higher religions that find a home in the internal proletariat that universal states find their highest purpose in Toynbee's thinking. But how do universal states provide the conditions (or services) that allow alien higher religions toflourish?

As mentioned above, the first benefit provided by a universal is a time of peace from both internal and external threats. Toynbee labels this benefit, "The Psychology of Peace." Toynbee claims that while eliminating fratricidal warfare, the dominant minority is unable to impose a "fancy religion" or philosophy from above, but that the"pacific atmosphere" will allow internal proletariats to establish their own religions from below upwards. Both the freedom to travel permitted by peace itself, and the communications network created by the universal state, will allow religious ideas to move in and gain a hearing in the society. Within the society, who is more willing to hear new ideas? Is it the dominant minority which seeks to maintain the existing power structure? Or is it the already alienated internal proletariat, who have no stake in the state religion or the power structure that state religion inevitably supports? The answer is obvious, while enjoying the peace established by the dominant minority, the internal proletariat is going to be willing to examine new religious ideas which will eventually challenge the dominant minority's power.

The Establishment of Higher Religions

As noted above, Toynbee does not place much emphasis on religion in the earlier volumes of A Study of History. However, with the publication of Volume VII in 1954, fifteen years after the publication of Volume VI, the work takes a major turn inexamining the post-breakdown phase of civilizations, which Toynbee calls universal states. It is at this point in the work that Toynbee becomes focused on religion. In his

view the primary beneficiary of a universal state is unequivocally the universal religion that arises from it. Halfway through Volume VII, Toynbee begins a new section entitled "Universal Churches." It is in this section that the change in Toynbee's thought after World War II becomes more pronounced. While still discussing past civilizations and attempting to find a universal paradigm of development, it is clear that Toynbee's focus has shifted to the spiritual side of humanexistence.

One reason for Toynbee's emphasis on religion is the rejection he saw in post-war intellectual thought of spiritual values. He argues that man has discarded the worshipof primitive nature for the worship of "the man-god Caesar" and has transformed nature "from an object of worship into an object of exploitation." The antidote for such idolatry is the message of the higher religions.

The message of the higher religions had been that Man, like Nature, is not God but is God's creature; and this message had won Man's ear at the moment when the collapseof a man-made mundane civilization had been demonstrating to Man the limitations ofhis power through the first-hand evidence of a painful and humbling experience

While this could obviously be true of the fall of the Roman Empire, it could equallybe true of post-war England.

Parasitic Religion

Another reason that Toynbee emphasizes the positive role of higher religions in the human story is that he wants to refute modern scholarship that denigrates religion, especially Christianity. He opens the beginning the book on "Universal Churches" with a section entitled, "Churches as Cancers." Toynbee admits that because the universal churches that have developed out of the higher religions are the primary beneficiaries of the universal states, they might be perceived as a parasite on that site, sucking the life out of it until the universal state drops dead. But he counters that "[t]his diagnosis is as attractive as it is exacerbating; for it always easier, both intellectually and morally, to debit one's ills to the account of some outside agency than to ascribe responsibility to oneself." He then spends the next ten pages debunking two well known scholars who attack Christianity as being an outside parasite, Edward Gibbon and Sir James George Frazer.

Edward Gibbon's *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* was published in 1932. Toynbee sums up all seventy-one chapters with a nine word quotation, "I have described the triumph of Barbarism and Religion." Because Gibbonsees that the decline of the Empire was synonymous with rise of Christianity, he concludes that the latter is responsible for the former. Toynbee rebuts Gibbon by

claiming that Gibbon misread the point of breakdown in the Roman Empire. The Empire (or as Toynbee would say, the Hellenic civilization) had passed the point ofbreakdown long before the entrance of Christianity. Without the breakdown of Hellenic civilization, Christianity and other Oriental religions would have found nomarket in Rome for their ideas.

Sir James George Frazer's *The Golden Bough* takes what is implicit in Gibbon about the parasitic nature of Christianity and expands the concept. Toynbee includes a lengthy quotation from The Golden Bough in which Frazer claims that Oriental religions completely undermined the "conception of the subordination of the individual to the community" and replaced it with the "selfish and immoral doctrine" of individual salvation. The selection quoted by Toynbee ends with hope that with therevival of classicism in the Renaissance and post-Renaissance eras will restore Romanvirtue in the modern world. According to Frazer:

The revival of Roman Law, of the Aristotelian philosophy, of ancient art and literatureat the close of the Middle Ages marked the return of Europe to native ideals of life and conduct, to saner, manlier views of the world. The long halt in the march of civilization was over. The tide of Oriental invasion had turned at last. It is ebbing still.

To which Toynbee ironically replies,

It was indeed still ebbing . . . on the 4th March, 1948...the present writer was wondering what that gentle scholar would have had to say . . . about some of the waysin which Europe's return to 'native ideals of life and conduct' had manifested itself during the forty-one years that had now passed since . . . 1907.

Toynbee sees a straight line between the "rational, unenthusiastic" neo-paganism ofGibbon and Frazer to the "demonic, emotional, violent-handed" neo-pagans of Hitler's Germany.

Toynbee argues that the love of God and love of Man are joined together in all the higher religions and therefore doing one will require doing the other. The difference between the pagan and the Christian (or the Muslim, Hindu or Buddhist) is that the Christian can see beyond his own small kingdom to the world as a totality. By seekingthe will of God on earth, the Christian is shooting for a larger goal than the small- minded pagan, and therefore has a greater chance at hitting at least some part of that target. He quotes Robert Browning, "Ah, but a man's reach should exceed his grasp, /Or what's a heaven for?"

As an example of that goal of serving man by serving God, Toynbee gives an accountof Saint Daniel the Stylite, a Syrian anchorite, who left his pillar and journeyed to

Constantinople to save the Christian faith, and thereby the Empire, and compares thisexample to the Hindu sage, Purun Baghat, who left his hermitage to warn villagers ofan impending landslide, thus saving their lives. Both holy men sought to live in isolation to better contemplate the divine, but when their fellow man needed them, they gladly returned to the world to serve their fellow man, and thereby gain a fuller understanding of divine providence.

Having made his case against Gibbon and Frazer that religion is not a parasite on theuniversal state, Toynbee seeks to explore the possibility that religion may actually bea "higher species of society." To understand what Toynbee means by that, we first need to understand what Toynbee means by "higher religions" and the role those religions have played in the evolution of society.

Religion and Society

In his chapter, "Churches as a Higher Species of Society," Toynbee differentiates between what he calls "lower religions" and "higher religions." These different stagesof religious development have different types of relationships with the dominant minority and the state apparatus they exist under. Furthermore, these two stages have different relationships with rationalism and rationalism's study of science. In studyingthese stages and why the conflict with rationalism is important, Toynbee makes a verypowerful polemic for man's need of religious truth and worship.

Lower Religions

As mentioned earlier, Toynbee identifies lower religions as a local phenomenon whilehigher religions view the deity as a global unity, concerned about all mankind, not justan individual tribe or nation. Toynbee argues that lower, primitive religions are the by-product of parochial states, but "the establishment of universal states obliterates the raison d'être of these religions. . ." There was no concept of personal choice in belief because the point of lower religions is not orthodox belief, but orthodox praxis.Toynbee explains: "The pith of Primitive Religion is not belief but action, and the testof conformity is not assent to a theological creed but participation in ritual performances."

The emphasis on praxis over belief is why Toynbee believes that there is no disagreement between philosophy (the search for intellectual truth) and religion asdefined by ritual. The people in primitive societies understand that their creation myths are "not statements concerning matter of fact that can be labeled 'true' or 'false'. " Therefore the philosopher who does make statements which have truth claims suffers no collision with the dominant minority "so long as the philosophercontinues to carry out his hereditary religious duties." Toynbee's example is

Confucius, who reconciled his moral philosophy with the traditional practices of Sinicreligion by presenting his ideas as the meaning of those rites. Praxis over belief was Toynbee's presentation of primitive religions. When the higher religions emerged, their novelty was the emphasis on belief over praxis. This led to what Toynbee refers to as the "paradox," that the greatest advances in religious thought were usually seen as lapses in religion by their founders' contemporaries. Thus the incredulity of Pompey when he found no object of worship in the Jewish Temple in Jerusalem, and charges of atheism against early Christians by their pagan neighbors while the Jews denounced these same Christians as blasphemers.

The Superiority of Higher Religions

If these early Christians were not bound by the rituals of the either the Jews or the pagans, then what was their appeal? Likewise, how did the philosophy of Gautama Siddhartha become the Buddhist religion of today? In other words, what accounts forthe rise of the higher religions?

Toynbee seeks to place the rise of the four higher religions (Christianity, Islam, Mahayana and Hinduism) in his paradigm of civilizational breakdown. Thus, in general, the higher religions came out of the breakdown of the second generation of civilizations. These civilizations did not all break down at the same moment of history, so as the four higher religions emerged, they often took elements from prior religions and civilizations. For example, Christianity arose during the breakdown of the Hellenic civilization from both Jewish and Zoroastrian roots. The Zoroastrian rootmerged into Judaism during the Jews Babylonian exile, which occurred during the time of troubles that led to Cyrus founding the Achaemenian universal state. The earlier, Jewish roots of Christianity, arose out of the breakup of the "New Empire of Egypt" when Moses led the Hebrew internal proletariat away from that troubled land and founded their own parochial state.

Toynbee argues that religious developments are more likely to occur during a time oftroubles than during times of peace and prosperity. He goes so far as to call it a "law"that "the circumstances favourable to spiritual and to secular progress are not only different but are antithetical." His explanation will sound familiar to those familiar with the phenomenon of "no atheists in foxholes."

Spiritual and secular ideals are at variance; they are perpetually striving with one another for mastery over human souls; and it is therefore not surprising that souls should be deaf to the call of the Spirit in times of secular prosperity, and sensitive tothe neglected whisper of the still small voice when the vanity of the This World is brought home to them by secular catastrophes and when their hearts are softened bythe sufferings and sorrows that these catastrophes inflict.

Toynbee is obviously not only thinking of the past, but also of the post-WWII present:

When the house that Man has built for himself falls in ruin about his ears and he findshimself standing again in the open at the mercy of the elements, he also finds himself standing again face to face with a God whose perpetual presence is now no longer hidden from Man's eyes by prison walls of Man's own making.

If Toynbee seems to be saying that post-war Europe was in a time of troubles (whichincluded both World Wars), then he has hope for the future.

If this is the truth, the interregna which punctuate secular history by intervening between the submergence of one civilization and the emergence of a successor may beexpected to have, as their counterparts in religious history, no breaches of continuity or pauses in the pulsation of life, but flashes of intense spiritual illumination and bursts of fervent spiritual activity.

Religious insights come out of troubled times. Each troubled time is different, just associeties are individual even while they follow the same basic paradigm of rise and fall. Each civilization's troubles are unique, so each civilization's religious response will highlight a different facet of the Deity.

Toynbee has made a case for churches springing up out of a civilization's decay. Butmight things work the other way? Could churches have a role in creating new civilizations? Toynbee argues that they do, and an exploration of his ideas on the subject will further illuminate the importance of religion in human history.

Birth out of Death: Churches and the Creation of New Civilizations

If the universal state is already dying by the time a higher religion becomes a universal church, then what role does religion play in the funeral of the dead civilization and the birth of a new one? Toynbee's concept is that of the church as a chrysalis for new civilizations. Toynbee confesses that at one time, he believed that this was raison d'être for universal churches, but that when writing Volume VII, he had come to believe that universal churches had a much larger reason for existence. As mentioned before, it is obvious that the experiences of World War II had a significant effect in expanding Toynbee's appreciation of religion. Still, Toynbee admits that while the universal churches serve a much greater purpose than simply asa chrysalis for new civilizations, it is useful to study that facet of their mission. It is important to understand Toynbee's ideas regarding civilizational cycles and the role that religion plays in those cycles.

The Chrysalis Concept

Toynbee claims that all of the extant civilizations in 1952 were affiliated to earlier civilizations through universal churches. He traces the Western and Orthodox Christian civilizations back to the Hellenic civilization through Christianity; the Far East back to the Sinic through Mahayana; the Hindu back to the Indic; and the Arabicthrough Islam to the Syriac. He goes on to argue that the fossils of several extinct civilizations were preserved in a religious expression, for example, Judaism, Jainism and several offshoots of Buddhism.

The transition process from old civilization to new begins with what Toynbee calls the "conceptive" role of the church. In this phase, the universal state has been established out a time of troubles. The state has seized all political power and left the bulk of the population as an internal proletariat. They have willingly given up their freedom in exchange for peace and safety, but they have paid a price. This cost of freedom is frustration, a loss of that creative impulse that Toynbee calls "a psychic stream" and modern psychologists call "libido" by the alienated majority. This "life-force" will seek expression, and one way it does so is in new religions. Toynbee quotes Lord Macauley: "It [Christianity] excited all the passions of a stormy democracy in the quiet and listless population of an overgrown empire . . .it changed men, accustomed to be turned over like sheep from tyrant to tyrant, into devoted partisans and obstinate rebels."

In this first conceptive phase of the chrysalis, the state has suppressed the energies andcreativity of the masses. The successful new religions are those which can take those energies and use them to further their message. When the new religion is able to channel these unleashed energies, it enters the "gestative phase" of its encounter with the universal state. This is an institution-building phase of the religion's life cycle.
Toynbee compares this to the building of secular institutions that accompany the building of the civilization. The universal state is not using this creative energy, so thechurches appropriate it and provide an outlet to "those men of mark who have failed to find scope for their genius as public servants." Toynbee claims that at this stage, themasses sense that the state is sinking and are looking for some institution that promises them hope for the future, thus the gestative phase is marked by mass conversions. Toynbee provides examples from his second generation civilizations of the growth of the new higher religions. It is during this phase that civilization which gave birth to the religion completely "dissolves into a social vacuum." To illustrate his point, Toynbee uses an Islamic myth, which teaches that the bridge over Hell to Paradise is as narrow as a razor's edge. The avatar of the Prophet Mohammed appearsas a ram who will surefootedly cross the bridge with the true believers clinging to himas a tick in the ram's wool. Unbelievers are left to cross on their own, which they are unable to do, therefore falling into eternal damnation. The ram, representing the

universal churches, is the vehicle by which the benefits and learning of the prior civilization will cross the abyss between the old and new civilizations.

Once the old universal state is dead and gone, a new dynamic is needed. Toynbee calls this the "parturient" phase. During this phase, the church opens the floodgates and releases the energy it has been keeping within its own institutions during the deaththroes of the prior state. Church leaders are released to serve in secular roles, and new parochial states begin to build out of the creative energy stored by the religious institutions, responding to new challenges and beginning the whole Challenge- Response-Mimesis paradigm all over again. At least, that is the general idea. On this phase of his argument, Toynbee admits that the evidence breaks down. Unlike the neat examples he was able to provide for the first two phases of his paradigm, he admits that the evidence is not universal for the parturient phase. It worked in WesternEurope during the Medieval period and to a degree in India with the Brahmins, but notvery well with either Ottoman Orthodoxy or Islam. This leads Toynbee to discuss the inadequacy of the chrysalis concept.

The main drawback of the churches as chrysalis concept is that only works for one generation of civilizations. Going from the first generation to the second generation, Toynbee can only describe rudimentary higher religions. He says in fact that it "never occurred in the corresponding transition from the second generation from the first." (See Chart of Civilizations and Religions at conclusion of paper.) It is only after the second generation of civilizations that Toynbee can detect the emergence of universal churches. He attempts to delineate a group of secondary higher religions arising out ofthe third generation of civilizations (see Chart), but none of these secondary religions has truly taken hold in the way that the primary four higher religions did.

Toynbee admits that the chrysalis concept is very limited even looking at the second and third generations. Looking at his Chart, he comments that while all the tertiary civilizations came from secondary civilizations via chrysalis churches, not all the secondary civilizations parented tertiary civilizations. Only four of the eight secondary civilizations gave birth to a succeeding generation. He also admits that he did not see the cycle repeating in his own time. Writing after World War II, he does speculate as where Communism fits into his schema. He does call Marxian Communism a religion, speculating that if the Soviet Union was the universal state forthe Western World, then Communism would then be the religion of the dominant minority, and reap a reward of "Dead Sea fruit." In other words it would not triumph, but would languish as all dominant minorities do, waiting for their internal proletariatsto discover a vision of the divine that meets their needs, not the needs of their commissars.

In analyzing Toynbee's concept of the chrysalis, it appears to be even more limited that he thought it was. While Toynbee's list of tertiary civilizations makes sense, his secondary religions are purely derivative of the four higher religions (Christianity, Islam, Mahayana and Hinduism). Looking at this paradigm in 1998, it does not hold up. At least two of the four primary religions (Christianity and Islam) are continuing to win adherents around the globe, even as Western Christian Civilization (at least theWestern part, with or without the Christian) is becoming a global civilization.
Buddhism and Hinduism are continuing to hold their ground as major world religionsand have spread world wide as a result of increased global immigration. By contrast, while a some of his secondary religions such as Baha'ism and Sikhism are still in existence, they have not become major world religions and these two sects have beenseverely persecuted in their lands of origin (Iran and India).

Toynbee has discussed the function of churches in birthing civilizations, but what about the function of civilizations in birthing churches. If religion is as important tomankind as Toynbee came to believe that it did, what might be the role of secular institutions in illuminating the divine?

Civilization as an Egg to Hatch A New Religion

As Toynbee's conviction that religion was the overarching link between civilizations,both in time and space, grew after WWII, his writing in A Study of History, reflectedthat change. In the chapter discussed above, "Churches as a Higher Species of Society," Toynbee urged his readers to

"open our minds to the possibility that the churches might be the protagonists and thatvice versa the histories of the civilizations might have to be envisaged and interpretedin terms, not of the own destinies, but of their effect on the history of Religion."

In the next chapter, "The Role of Civilizations in the Lives of Churches," Toynbee asks the reader to invert the paradigm he used in the first six volumes. Instead of considering civilizations paramount and religion subordinate, he wants to "make thenew departure of dealing with civilizations in terms of churches." Toynbee believes that this approach will answer a question posed by Plato, "[w]hich . . . are the true catastrophes: the breakdowns of civilizations or their births?" Toynbee's answer is that the birth of a civilization is a catastrophe if it results in a regression from higher religion, but a success if the new civilization gives rise to a new church. Toynbee's example of a successful new church is Christianity, which took vocabulary and customs from the Hellenic (both Greek and Roman) culture and infused them with sacred significance. He uses the metaphor of an egg, which must be broken for the new life within to grow and mature. The Hellenic civilization existed for one reason,to bring forth Christianity. In so doing, its death was not in vain, but a life cycle

expended for a noble purpose. But what about the other side of the drachma, the casewhere a civilization does not give rise to a new church, but regresses back to a prior civilization?

Unsuccessful Civilizations

After Toynbee sets forth his example of the Christian church transforming the Hellenic world into a new entity, devoted to showing the divine light to the people, heconsiders whether a civilization which arose out of such a religious ethos might have regressed back to the level of its parent civilization. Using the same methodology of tracing word etymology from one source to another, Toynbee traces a number of words and customs from the church to a purely secular connotation. He concludes thatmuch of the sacred has reverted back to a purely secular meaning. In a revision of the normally accepted view, Toynbee views the so-called Renaissance as a regression of European civilization because it rejected the religious base of that society in favor of the secular works of the Hellenic civilization. He further claims that this is not merelya Western problem, but it has also occurred in the Far East, where the rejection of Mahayana in favor of the prior Sinic culture has been more complete than the rejection of Christianity in the West.

What causes this rejection? Why do societies reject the higher religions that Toynbee feels are clearly superior to any other choices they have? Toynbee seeks answers to these questions in the chapter, "Causes of Regression." He looks at the Hildebrandinepapacy, Saint Benedict and Pope Gregory the Great. He concludes that to the degree those in charge of the Civitas Dei get ensnared in the affairs of the world of men, their legacy is a degraded spirituality. He acknowledges that the three holy men he studies were not attempting to take worldly power for its own sake, but were forced into taking that power by the challenge of exercising their spiritual authority. Therefore hereasons that the real problem is not with the institutions per se. The real problem is innate in human nature, Original Sin.

If our problem is Original Sin, an intractable evil in the human soul, is there any hope of progressing either in terms of civilization or religion? Was the flowering of the fourhigher religions the apex of human development? Toynbee is very concerned with these questions in the chapter, "The Bow in the Cloud." The chapter title comes from the account in Genesis where God tells Noah that the rainbow is a sign to man that God will never again destroy the world by water. He reminds the reader that secular progress and spiritual progress are polar opposites, so if civilization has seen great secular advances, it is to be expected that the spiritual life of that society would have declined.

Looking at the Western World after both world wars, he offers two choices to the Western civilization: The first is to let the Neo-Paganism that almost destroyed the West in the twentieth century have its way and grind our civilization into the dust. Thesecond is for modern man to awake from his slumber, repent of his Man-worship and return to the higher religions revealed to his forefathers. Toynbee believes that one will end in the death of the West, the other offers a hope of new life.

Toynbee believed that the future of civilization depended on man's religious choicesand that our previous civilizations were merely a vehicle for the spiritual side of manto develop and flourish. It would seem from Volume VII that the only unit of study worth the historian's time or effort would be man's quest for God.

In fact, one might ask, given Toynbee's focus on religion as the prime element in civilization, why did Toynbee not just categorize his civilizations by their religions, instead of all the other criteria of space, time, etc. He answered that very question in an annex to Volume VIII, titled "The Relativity of the Unit of Classification to the Object of Study." He notes that the modern societies based on Christianity and Islam arose out of the same parent society at about the same time, and that both of them are apt to conjure up renaissances of the dead parent society. Why not treat them as the same society? Toynbee answers because they conjure up different aspects of the dead parent society in response to different challenges. So Toynbee returns to his Challengeand Response paradigm from the first three volumes. Even when societies have the same religion and the same heritage, each time and each place presents different challenges to the society and to grow and thrive, each society must respond creatively and appropriately, based on the need and capabilities of the moment. Likewise, when a society goes into breakdown, it will break down for reasons unique to its own time, its own failed challenges, and the course of that breakdown will be unique to that society. Even the universal churches that arise from the breakdown are not the same.
While Toynbee finds striking similarities between Christianity, Islam, Mahayana and Hinduism, they all have very unique features that met the challenges of their own times and places of origin.

The unit of study for a historian will always be bound by time and geography. While on one level, one could discuss only two second generation civilizations, the Syriac (Christian/Islam) and the Indic (Mahayana/Hindu), in fact, one would be painting withtoo broad a brush. One would have a unit of study that is so large that one could nevercatch hold of it. By necessity one would have to break it down by time or region just to look at a piece small enough to examine.

In discussing the history of large civilizations whether the Syriac and Indic of Toynbee, or the world systems of later world historians, one runs into the same problem. One must either skim the surface of many times and places, looking for a

very simple paradigm to organize history, or one can dive in to a specific time or place and look for patterns of history. While earlier twentieth century historians like
H. G. Wells or Toynbee wrote multi-volume works that purported to do both, in reality they failed. Even with twelve volumes, Toynbee could only cover a few timeperiods in the most superficial manner.

The later volumes of A Study of History become a polemic for what Toynbee sees as the gaping abyss facing Western man. He uses his paradigm of universal states, universal churches and proletariats to urge his readers to wake up and find God beforethe Western world kills itself in an orgy of violence. This teleological, even eschatological urgency overwhelms Toynbee. The urge to preach is an inherent one for the world historian. Toynbee is not the only twentieth century prophet who has used a world history to promulgate his individual gospel. H. G. Wells desired a world state. Oswald Spengler figured that the West was done for, but wanted to explain why.Pitirim Sorokin wanted everyone to shake off Sensate Culture and discover how to love each other. Immanuel Wallerstein wants us to see how we are bound by the Capitalist World-System so we can stop exploiting the periphery states and live in Marxist peace and harmony.

The question becomes, not if a world historian has an agenda, but why does the discipline appear to demand one. Arnold J. Toynbee can furnish us with one possible answer to this question. To study a very large unit, even one civilization at a specific time, one needs some kind of organizing device, a meta-narrative. The quest to study many civilizations over the course of human history requires not merely a meta- narrative, but an all encompassing vision of human existence. Religion can provide this kind of encompassing vision, as can pseudo-religious ideologies, such as Marxism. Religious visions whether of the overtly spiritual type, such as Christianity,or the putatively materialist variety, such as Marxism are by nature teleological. Theyhave a vision of where mankind is going and what awaits him at the end of his road.

Toynbee's vision is rooted in his Christianity. Even his universalist tendencies were rooted in the similarities between the other higher religions and Christianity. His vision of history is therefore by nature, religious. In a spiritually motivated view, Godor man's attempts to find God (religion), will be the organizing principle. It is not surprising that he changed course in his view of civilization between volumes VI and
VII. Given the calamity that was Europe during the fifteen year interregnum between those volumes, it would have been more surprising if there was no change in vision; because it would have meant that Toynbee had not been part of his world, not just as ahistorian, but as a human

Oral History: Revealing the Mind through Conversation

Ute Ferrier

In the United States the institutional beginnings of oral history can be traced back to Allan Nevins's Oral History Project at Columbia University in 1948. As a field it developed in the early 1980s and at this time advocates started to seriously reflect on its methods and implications. Today oral history and public history are considered thegrowth engine of the historical discipline, absorbing many historians who are competing in a tight job market. However, the importance of oral history goes beyond practical considerations. Its methodological innovations enhance yet at the same time challenge the discipline. In this paper I will discuss some of the key issues anyone who intends to "do" oral history ought to consider. While I will briefly address some of the methodological concerns, the main focus of the paper will deal with the meaning and implication of oral history.

Oral history, especially in its import on public history, has tremendous potential. It can give a voice to those who have previously been excluded from historical narratives. By incorporating everyday, ordinary people in the historical dialogue it gives them an opportunity to formulate their own meaning. A sharing of authority cantake place and through this grass roots approach the "making" of history can become more democratic. Approaching history from the bottom up also encourages that a newset of questions be asked, and it can break the old molds of historical scholarship in numerous ways.

Oral history has been practiced by professionals on both sides of the academic divide and has been used for diverse purposes, from purely academic information to statisticsutilized by government agencies. Oral history can be used as a supplement to traditional historical writings because it can offer a different type of source and therefore can be interpreted as a way of making more history. It has also been viewed as an alternative that allows scholars to get around the historical discipline altogether. For Michael Frisch, who has reflected on the craft and implication of oral history for two decades, these two visions of more history or no history are not entirely satisfactory. Oral history has a greater potential because it can make history more meaningful—it can be a qualitative improvement, it can make for better history.
Functioning within the realms of history, this approach can enrich an already extant knowledge base. It can also be more responsive and reciprocal than the history that is

written exclusively for an academic audience and lacks relevance for the public atlarge.

Even if oral history is conducted within institutional confines, it has potential to reachthe masses. In other words, oral history can be used for social and political purposes more readily than a monograph on an obscure study that is only interesting to a handful of scholars. Frisch sees the challenge of oral history in learning how "social history, community studies, and public presentation can combine in scholarship that is at once intellectually trenchant, politically meaningful, and sharable with the communities from which it comes."

Frisch's call for political sensitivity and the democratization of history has been echoed by many of his colleagues, including the British sociologist Paul Thompson whose work is driven by the tenet that "All history depends ultimately upon its social purpose." Thompson's activist, populist stance has inspired many historians who haveendeavored to let the common people participate in their histories and to give them a central place in it.

This sharing of authority and incorporation of commoners requires that the information be handled responsibly. In this respect an oral historian faces similar challenges than a historian who analyzes written documents. Both have to be sensitivein regards to their sources and consider who is speaking, what the people or documents reveal and what the historical context was under which the records were created. Oral historians have additional challenges; for example, how to reduce a tape-recorded interview to a written transcript, how to account for facial expressions, body language and pauses. Non-verbal clues get lost during transcription. The question of selectivity also plays an important role because recordings are not necessarily translated in their entirety, so there is considerable leeway to skew an interview by selecting certain answers and excluding others.

Information presents other problems as well, because memory and recall are subjective, which makes it all the more important to understand the context. Without context oral history would merely be swapping stories but "conversations become historical in the truest sense when a context is formed for the dialog." This can be challenging because often informants are interviewed about events that transpired some time ago. When recollections are not fresh they may be faulty and the events may be reconstructed in a distorted way. Having a temporal distance can sometimes be beneficial though, because it allows for greater reflection, which is hardly possiblewhile people are in the midst of the experience. However, since events recalled at a later date are interpreted in the mind-set of the present, this begs the question, "What time period does such an interview represent: the time investigated or the time of the interview?" All these matters need to be considered. It is important who is talking,

what the informants are discussing and how they make sense of it all. And this in turnis embedded in a cultural context, inextricably shaped by forces such as the mass media.

Introspection and careful analysis, while arguably necessary for all disciplines, is evenmore essential for public historians because they are part of the public discourse and their work can have significant social and political repercussions. The interpretation ofevents is not simply a matter of who has the more accurate version. It can also demonstrate who exercises political power and how that power can be abused. A goodexample is the story of Luigi Trastulli, a 21-year old steelworker from Terni (an industrial town in central Italy), who died on March 17, 1949 after clashing with the local police. The actual incident was minor, compared to the high-casualty police violence of the 1950s, but the way the event was appropriated was significant. It "became the ground upon which collective memory and imagination built a cluster of tales, symbols, legends, and imaginary reconstructions."

The different ways in which this particular event was recalled tells volumes about the power relationship between the workers and the police. The official account made by the police stated that the steelworkers went on a major strike without having obtained permission for it, and that the violence started with the mob. Workers who were interviewed recalled on the other hand that it was no strike at all, instead several workers were just getting off work leaving the factory at the same time, and that the police initiated the violence. In this instance recall and political power are inextricablybound and cannot be separated. The actors' state of mind at that time helped determine how the event was interpreted and what it meant.

Portelli who interviewed workers several decades after the event found that Trastulli'sdeath was later even connected to events that had nothing to do with the police clash in which he died. The protest in 1949 was directed against NATO but many workers came to associate his death with the massive labor strikes of the 1950s. Consequently Trastulli was remembered as a martyr who died during worker strikes in the cause of labor. When Portelli brought this discrepancy to the attention of his informants, they seemed little perturbed. After all to them it made more sense to think of Trastulli's death in the context of labor strikes since these had a more profound effect on the community than the NATO protest several years earlier. Chronology thus seemed lessimportant than the meaning which the workers bestowed and in this respect memory as history can be seen in terms of the symbolic and psychological.

The discrepancy between the official accounts and the recollections of the workers points to another dilemma: the tension between public life and private memory. Classappears to be particularly pertinent here because people's accounts are evaluated according to their social position. While lower-class people may be invited to share

their experiences, they are seldom asked for an analysis of the events. Such discrimination is standard practice and "reinforces the already deeply-rooted, class- based ideology that sees ordinary people as sources of data, rather than as shapers and interpreters of their own experience."

Class is particularly important if we try to get a view from the bottom up. Some people speak anonymously and their experiences are merely historical in the sense that they reflect many experiences. This seemed to be the case with numerous people Studs Terkel interviewed on their experiences during the Great Depression. Many of his informants interpreted the depression in terms of personal failure. These testimonies of survivors loaded with the scars of psychic suffering give great insight into why there has not been a more critical assessment of the Great Depression, why itdid not produce "more focused critiques of American capitalism and culture, more sustained efforts to see fundamental change." As time passes, these experiences of personal failure are seen through the lenses of success and survival, a legacy for the generations that were to follow. A structural criticism was bypassed and history was thus filtered twice, "by time and subsequent experience."

Not all of the survivors of the Great Depression spoke anonymously, though. Some had a direct impact on historical developments and their involvement was clearly in the public realm. Most of the time, the "spectrum of private and public experiences and subjectivity parallels the spectrum of power and position," and those who exertedlittle political power were most likely to interpret the depression primarily as a privatetribulation. Nonetheless there were exceptions, and many of the rich could live quite privately, while some among the poor were politically active and functioned in "a public dimension well beyond their own subjectivity." The kind of information obtained by interviews can thus range from the particular to the general, from specificprivate experiences to a discussion of what it meant—it can be highly anecdotal or fairly analytical.

For the oral historian evaluating what people are saying is perhaps the most difficultaspect of the inquiry but it is also the most important. Here it becomes pertinent to understand how people make sense of their experiences and how they construct meaning out of them. By looking at this "oral history reveals patterns and choices, that, taken together, begin to define the reinforcing and screening apparatus of the general culture, and the ways in which it encourages us to digest experience." Attitudes and opinions that are formed in a cultural context will emerge from these interviews.

However, oral history is not just employed to detect the formation of public opinion, itis also used to shape them. Frisch points out that this was the case with the PBS seriesVietnam: A Television History where primarily those individuals who held powerful

positions were prompted to interpret historical events. Peasants and foot soldiers were interviewed for their personal experiences but not asked to put those into a larger context. “The higher or more important the position of the subject, however, the morelikely he or she is to be seen offering historical judgments of a broader nature, sweeping evaluations of what an event meant, what caused it, or what the public felt.”To Frisch, even more disturbing than this selectivity regarding interpretation is the fact that personal experiences are often presented without ever being put into their historical context. Vietnam is not uncommon; more recent documentaries also fail when it comes to “preventing a momentarily glimpsed reality from slipping back behind a curtain of amnesia, or from receding into a blurry distance.” The problem is that by presenting events such as the Vietnam War without ever seriously discussing the underlying causes, society can maintain its denial and disengagement.
Consequently it can avoid taking responsibility.

In projects such as historical documentaries, oral history can be used for political purposes and cultural hegemony. “In the political arena, for instance, where major conflicts in a democratic society are presumably engaged, the war and its roots were never legitimately discussible.” The causes and ideological underpinnings could not be debated while the war was still going on because this was considered to underminethe war effort. Once the war was over the nation supposedly embarked on a healing process and in this postwar environment a discussion of the war was also treated as subversive. Consequently dissenting voices were silenced, or at least given the least amount of exposure possible. The prevalent manner of dealing with these issues was not to engage in a multi-dimensional discussion but instead to package this complex historical experience and market it through the mass-mediated popular culture for “acceptable public remembering.”

The issue of public memory has also been contentious in Germany, where people are still coming to terms with the Nazi era and the Holocaust. Even today, more than half a century after World War II, the question of responsibility is still controversial and hotly debated by academics. Initially at war’s end the German nation was preoccupiedwith reconstruction and there was little public debate on the Nazi legacy. A massive discussion in the public sphere was not initiated until the television series Holocaust premiered in 1979. Public reaction was strong and interest in the Holocaust peaked, only to ebb shortly afterwards. This short-lived engagement with the issues implies that “the intensity of measurable reaction is a highly questionable indicator of the quality of ‘mass’ memory work.”

It may be difficult to gauge the final impact a historical documentary will have but inGermany oral history has made an important contribution to the debate. One of the driving forces, through which much oral history has been introduced, is the history of everyday life (Alltagsgeschichte), which has been the most important

historiographical development in Germany during the last two decades. Its emphasis has been on everyday, ordinary people, in German called kleine Leute, which can be translated to mean little people, or small people—a term "as suggestive as it is imprecise." Historians of everyday life (Alltagshistoriker) intend to dispel the misconception that the common people have little to contribute to the nation's historical narrative. As their Anglo-American counterparts they stress subjectivity andexperience, as well as the social construction of meaning.

Alltagsgeschichte has many of the same goals Frisch identified for oral historians: a willingness to examine history from the bottom up, to give voice to those who have traditionally been overlooked and consequently to democratize the writing of history. In Germany, however, advocates of Alltagsgeschichte operate in a political and academic environment that has been resistant to innovative approaches. The struggleshave been hard fought and after two decades Alltagshistoriker have made small "inroads into the institutional centers of the profession" even though they enjoy considerable recognition abroad. A discussion about the pertinence of oral history andeveryday life has been highly politicized in Germany. Consequently when Alfred Lüdtke, one of the leading advocates of Alltagsgeschichte, speaks about its import, heis arguing from the position of a dissenter.

Writing history from the bottom up is particularly contentious because it supposedly threatens the academic establishment, in particularly social-science history.
Alltagsgeschichte emerged in the mid-1970s as a dissenting movement from the left and gained momentum during the 1980s. Actually it had much in common with social-science history and the so-called Bielefeld school. Both were committed to coming to terms with the Nazi past and both criticized the "traditionalist methodologyand intellectual outlook of the established West German profession," meaning they opposed the older historicist methods that focused on politics and diplomacy. The Bielefeld school, however, sought to explain history by analyzing society and history through "big structures, large processes, huge comparisons" and this is where Alltagsgeschichte diverges. Its goal was to develop a qualitative understanding by
examining the material conditions of everyday life and by "entering the inner world ofpopular experience" in those contexts which have been considered the cultural domain. For the social-science historians embracing cultural history was clearly an abandonment of scientific principles and over this issue the two camps have exchanged words. Lüdtke and his colleagues have consequently been on the defensiveand have argued that they do not intend to supplant the structural study of social change but try to transcend the "sharp dichotomy opposing objective, material, structural, or institutional factors to subjective, cultural, symbolic, or emotional ones."

For Alltagshistoriker studying the lives of ordinary people does not mean that politicsis left out; in fact their lives cannot be separated from the larger questions of power

and appropriation. History from below sheds light on the lives of “historical losers” and perhaps more importantly demonstrates the internal costs of social transformation.Again, it is a question of political power and how this comes to bear on the lives of everybody. Microhistory has the potential to decentralize analysis and interpretation and it also adds qualitatively to our historical understanding because it captures the ambiguities and contradictions of behavior in ways structural analysis is not able to do.

In Germany the barefoot approach has taken history beyond the institutional confines of scholars and scientists. The public has been involved in discussions regarding museum exhibits, memorial sites and the National Memorial Day (Volkstrauertag), which have been contentious issues because they involve national remembrance of theHolocaust and the Third Reich. The public’s involvement in these negotiations is “intended to make it more difficult to repress and forget, to sweep the past under the public carpet.”

When it comes to debates of such magnitude, it seems necessary to involve the public.This, however, can also be potentially hazardous. In the case of Germany, should modern-day Nazis be allowed to participate in the discourse and to what degree should their views be given credence? It can be argued that their opinions need to be made public to alert people to the dangers of such rhetoric. On the other hand, increased exposure may have the opposite effect and attract some people to their cause. Silencing the Nazis is certainly within Germany’s constitutional rights (even arguably a constitutional obligation) but critics charge that such efforts are repressive.

Perhaps a less stark example is that of complicity during the war. How guilty were those millions of Germans who did not participate in the resistance? And can millionsof German civilians be portrayed as victims? The memories of the survivors have puta human face on these issues and once their personal suffering is acknowledged, it becomes increasingly difficult to speak of national responsibility.

Theoretically it is essential to include the voices from below, at least if we seek to approach the most accurate reconstruction of historical events possible. Yet, what exactly does it mean to incorporate the views from the common people? How is this authority transferred and what are historians giving up? In this respect there are no clear answers and these problems need to be solved as specific projects arise. A German historian who deals with issues of genocide will likely arrive at a different answer than a labor historian who examines workers’ lives under particular conditions. As such there are general theoretical guidelines for oral historians to consider, and thinking about the potential societal impact of one’s work is, in my view, a necessity. The detail, however, has to be worked out in the specific context inwhich the work is done. Method is, undoubtedly, an important consideration but not

the preliminary one. More importantly, in the words of Ronald Grele, is "the mind revealed through conversation." And in this respect the oral historian is as much partof the unfolding story as the informants whose experiences he or she seeks to incorporate into the historical narrative.

Last Updated: 8/12/16

3: How to Read 22,198 Journal Articles: Studying the History of German Studies with Topic Models

Allen Beye Riddell

IN THE PAST DECADE, research libraries have digitized their holdings, mak- ing a vast collection of scanned books, newspapers, and other texts conveniently accessible. While these collections present obvious oppor- tunities for historical research, the task of exploring the contents of thou- sands of texts presents a challenge. This chapter introduces a family of methods, often called topic models, that can be used to explore very large collections of texts. Researchers using these methods may be found not only in computer science, statistics, and computational linguistics but also increasingly in the human and social sciences in fields such as women's history, political science, history of science, and classical studies.[1] This introduction uses a topic model to explore a particular corpus, a collec- tion of 22,198 journal articles and book reviews from four US-based German studies journals: *The German Quarterly*, *New German Critique*, *German Studies Review*, and *Monatshefte*. As this is the first time this cor- pus has been explored using quantitative methods, this introduction also presents a new perspective on the disciplinary history of German studies.

This chapter has three parts. First, I review existing methods that researchers, often historians, have used to explore very large collections of texts. Then I introduce a topic model—a probabilistic model of words appearing in a collection of texts—as an alternative way of reading a cor- pus. I aim to show that a topic model of the German studies journals reveals disciplinary trends that would be immensely time consuming to document otherwise. Finally, I discuss prospects for using topic mod- els in nineteenth-century research generally and in intellectual history specifically.

Existing Approaches: Direct and Collaborative Reading

The early 2000s witnessed the emergence of several library digitization efforts (Open Content Alliance and Google Books, to name two exam- ples). During this period, observers asked what historians might plausibly

do with such vast digital collections. Gregory Crane, a classicist and editor-in-chief of the successful Perseus Digital Library, put the question succinctly in 2006, asking, "What do you do with a million books?"[2] As a practical matter, however, Crane might as well have asked what to do with a thousand books, since carefully reading a thousand volumes already involves more time than many researchers are willing to devote to a single project.

For the sake of brevity, I will refer to any collection of texts as a *very large collection* if it contains more texts than a single researcher would be expected to digest in a year's worth of dedicated reading; 22,198 journal articles would count as a very large collection, as would the proceedings of the British Parliament in the nineteenth century, or all articles pub- lished in an established regional newspaper.[3] What options are available to researchers interested in such collections? If they look to past efforts, they have two strategies available: *direct reading* and *collaborative reading*.

Direct reading is familiar. Regardless of the size of the corpus, researchers may invest the required time to read and digest its contents. There are many examples of scholars reading through enormous collec- tions of texts in the course of their research. The American historian Laurel Thatcher Ulrich spent years reading and rereading the nearly 10,000 diary entries of Martha Ballard, a midwife in Maine around 1800.[4] Examples of studies requiring extensive reading from German cultural and intellec- tual history include Fritz Ringer's *The Decline of the German Manda- rins*, which involved his reading a significant fraction of all books written between 1890 and 1933 by German full professors in the human sci- ences, and Kirsten Belgum's *Popularizing the Nation*, which took among its objects ca. 2,500 issues of the weekly magazine *Die Gartenlaube* (The Garden Bower) printed between 1853 and 1900.[5] Familiarity with a very large collection may also be gained over the course of years of research and teaching. There are many scholars of the nineteenth-century Euro- pean novel—such as Katie Trumpener or John Sutherland—who, I sus- pect, have read a significant fraction of all European novels published in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

A second option, collaborative reading, involves dividing up the task of reading among a number of participants. This approach brings with it the challenge of coordinating among readers. There are many examples of this approach.[6] One effort that managed the problem of coordina- tion particularly well is the Genre Evolution Project, led by Carl Simon and Eric Rabkin at the University of Michigan.[7] Simon and Rabkin gath- ered a team of faculty, graduate students, and undergraduates together to read the ca. 2,000 short stories published in major US science fiction magazines between 1929 and 1999. The team was interested in studying how the science fiction genre changed over time and in testing existing claims about the genre against the evidence provided by the short stories

corpus. No participant read all the stories, but participants did overlap in their reading assignments. To coordinate their efforts, the team focused on gathering information about a range of discrete "features," including the genders and ages of authors as well as characteristics of the narratives, such as whether a story was set in the past or whether uses of technol- ogy led to a "bad outcome." As each story was read by at least two par- ticipants, any reader's judgment could be checked against the readings of others. In this fashion, cases of disagreement could be identified and discussed. In the social sciences, this kind of checking is known as assess- ing interrater reliability.

Another example of collaborative reading is Larry Isaac's study of the "labor problem novel" in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Ameri- can fiction.[8] Isaac considers a novel a labor problem novel if it contains one of four specific representations of labor union activity (typically, a labor strike). The time frame for his study covers nearly fifty years, from 1870 to 1918. Since thousands of novels were published in the United States during this period, reading through all them for mention of a strike would have been an epic undertaking. Instead, Isaac made use of existing studies and bibliographies of novels from the period and divided up the task of reading candidate labor problem novels between himself and grad- uate students. His team eventually arrived at a list of around five hundred novels fitting the definition.

Both direct reading and collaborative reading may be combined with random sampling. If researchers are interested in investigating trends in book publishing in France between 1800 and 1900 and they happen to have a list of publications from the period, then they may take a random sample and work with that corpus. If the sample is random and suffi- ciently large, the researchers may be confident that significant trends in the larger body of books will be identifiable in the smaller sample.

My description of these two approaches, direct reading and collab- orative reading, is intended as not only a contrast with the computa- tional and probabilistic methods that will be introduced shortly; it is also a reminder that there are many ways of exploring a very large corpus. Researchers should not be intimidated by quantity. Even a million books could be studied by gathering a large random sample and using collabora- tive reading.

Machine Reading: Latent Dirichlet Allocation and Topic Models

Other ways of reading a very large collection of texts exist. A range of alternative approaches might be labeled, following N. K. Hayles, "machine reading."[9] In this section, I will introduce one of these alterna- tives, known informally as a *topic model*.

Like any abstraction, the vector space model obscures important aspects of texts, word order chief among them—for example, "the child ate the fish" and "the fish ate the child" are indistinguishable. It fails spectacularly when confronted with polysemy: "Mann" in "Ein junger Mann" is counted the same as the "Mann" in "Thomas Mann." And many measures used to compare word count vectors are maddeningly opaque. For example, while it is tempting to characterize cosine distance as a measure of similarity, this similarity has no interpretation familiar to human readers. And as a practical matter, in cases where one is dealing with roughly comparable texts, experiments have shown that cosine dis- tance and related measures are only loosely correlated with human judg- ments of similarity.[16]

Another objection to the vector space model is that readers often do not care about individual words *per se*; rather, they are interested in *groups of related words*. For example, if we really wanted to capture how much each chapter of *Effi Briest* featured Effi, we would want to consider all the words associated with her. She is called "Effi" by her parents and Innstetten, but she is called "gnädige Frau" by others. We would also be interested in the possessive form "Effis" along with the inflected forms of "gnädige Frau." These are all distinct vocabulary items in the vector space

model. Similarly, with our corpus of journal articles, if we were interested in identifying the proportion of articles devoted to a certain topic, such as the study of German folktales, we would be interested in a *set* of words, such as "tale," "tales," "fairy," "grimm," "folk," "wilhelm," and "broth- ers." If we were interested in the rise of feminist criticism, we would be concerned with tracking the occurrence of a cluster of words, such as "women," "woman," "male," "feminist," "gender," "patriarchy," and "social." Whether we are working with the chapters of a novel or with journal articles, it would be convenient to relax the vector space model somewhat and instead represent texts in terms of these distinctive constel- lations of words.

Remarkably, human readers need not specify which words belong to these clusters of words. Given a large corpus of texts, these groups of related words can often be *inferred* from their patterns of occurrence alone. In a limited sense, the data—here, the corpus—can "speak for itself." Making use of a *topic model* is one way of achieving this feat.

Latent Dirichlet Allocation and Topic Models

Topic model is an informal label for a member of a family of probabilistic models developed over the last ten years. These models trace their roots to a model described in 2003 by David Blei, Andrew Ng, and Michael Jordan.[17] The authors named this model Latent Dirichlet Allocation, or LDA. *Latent* refers to the model's assumption that the aforementioned clusters of words exist and are responsible in a specific sense for the word frequencies observed in the corpus. As these groups of words are themselves hidden, their distribution in the corpus needs to be inferred. *Dirichlet* refers to the probability distribution that does this work. The distribution is named after the nineteenth-century German mathemati- cian Peter Gustav Lejeune Dirichlet (1805–59).[18] The name *topic model* was retrospective. In practice, the model successfully finds groups of related words in a large corpus of texts—groups of words that readers felt comfortable calling *topics*.[19] Strictly speaking, these topics are prob- ability distributions over the unique words (vocabulary) of the corpus; those words to which the distributions assign the highest probability are those I will refer to as *associated* or *linked* with the topic. While new topic models have appeared in the intervening years, I will use LDA to model the journal article corpus.[20]

To understand how LDA works it is easiest to start with the end result.[21] LDA delivers a representation of each document in terms of topic shares or proportions. For example, assuming that thirty topics are latent in the corpus, the words in the article by Catherine Dollard, "The *alte Jungfer* as New Deviant: Representation, Sex, and the Single Woman in Imperial Germany," are associated with topics in the following

proportions: 47 percent topic 25, 17 percent topic 19, and 9 percent topic 20 (with 27 percent distributed with smaller shares over the remain- ing 27 topics; fig. 3.5). The plurality of the words is associated with topic 25, which in turn is characterized by its assigning high probability to observing the following words: "women," "female," "woman," "male," "sexual," "feminist," "social," "gender," "family," and "mother."

How does LDA arrive at this representation? Should readers trust its description of articles in the corpus? The first question has a ready answer. LDA and other topic models add an interpretive layer on top of the vec- tor space model. These models look at word frequencies through the lens of probability, permitting considerable flexibility in the interpreta- tion of the counts. I work through the details of a simple topic model in an online appendix to this chapter.[22] Recall that when we are thinking in terms of cosine distance (which is not probabilistic), observing that two documents share a word (e.g., "weimar") counts immediately as evi- dence of similarity. With probability added, judgment of similarity can be postponed and made in the context of other evidence (i.e., other shared words). This flexibility is advantageous when we are dealing with the fact of polysemy in human language—a single word frequently has a diversity of meanings. For example, consider two articles that both use "weimar," one concerning Goethe (who lived in this city) and one about the Weimar Republic. Seeing the word "weimar" in both documents should *not neces- sarily* count as evidence that the two documents concern similar subjects.

The addition of probability to the model permits the association of the word "weimar" with two different topics.

Should we trust that the description of documents in terms of top- ics corresponds at all with what our judgments would have been, had we read the 22,198 articles? The titles of journal articles provide a validation of the model. Recall that the topic model only uses the text of the article; words in the title are given no special status. Verifying that what the topic

	share
Topic 25	.47
Topic 19	.17
Topic 20	.09

Dollard, Catherine. "The *alte Jungfer* as New Deviant: Representation, Sex, and the Single Woman in Imperial Germany," *German Studies Review* 29 (Feb 2006): 107-26.

	top words
Topic 25	women female woman male sexual feminist social gender family
Topic 19	german political social history austrian national studies germany
Topic 20	life time people death love little story world father day left

Figure 3.5. Catherine Dollard's *German Studies Review* article viewed in terms of prominent topics. Shares and words are based on a topic model (LDA) with thirty topics. Considered separately, each of the remaining topics contributes less than 0.05.

shares imply is also what the article title implies is a convenient way to check that a topic model has succeeded in capturing important themes in a collection of texts.[23]

Four German Studies Journals (1928–2006)

To explore the corpus of journal articles using LDA, I fixed the number of topics at a hundred.[24] As described previously, LDA infers the distri- bution of the hundred topics across all the articles in the corpus as well as words characteristic of each topic. When we examine the inferred top- ics and plot their prevalence over the twentieth century, two dominant trends emerge. The first trend is a decline in articles on language peda- gogy. Topic 64 captures this trend neatly. Its characteristic words include "students," "language," "course," and "teaching"; the titles of its asso- ciated articles confirm that the topic is linked with language pedagogy (fig. 3.6). While some of the decline in articles on language instruction is surely an artifact of the corpus (in 1968 *The German Quarterly* split off

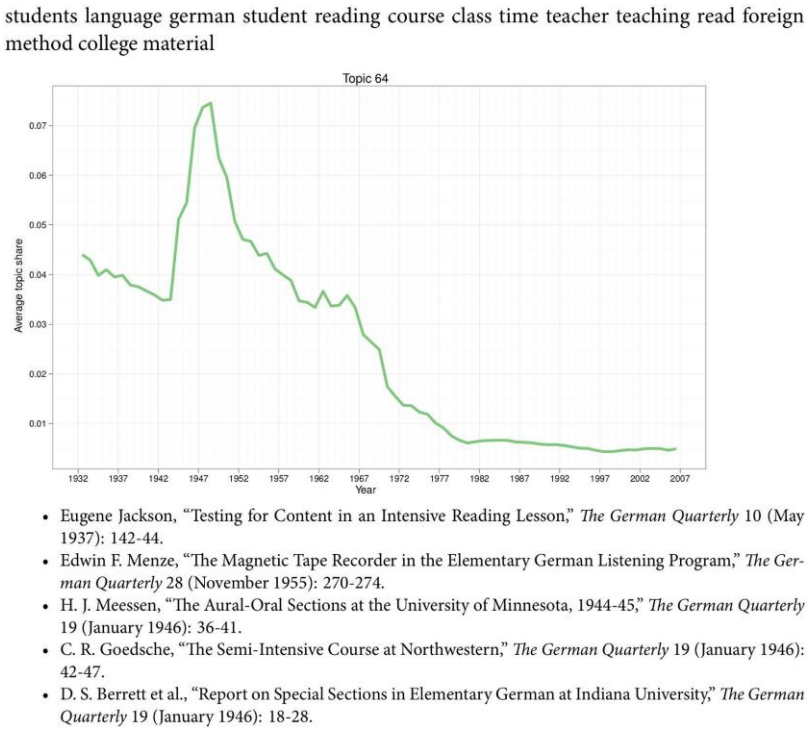


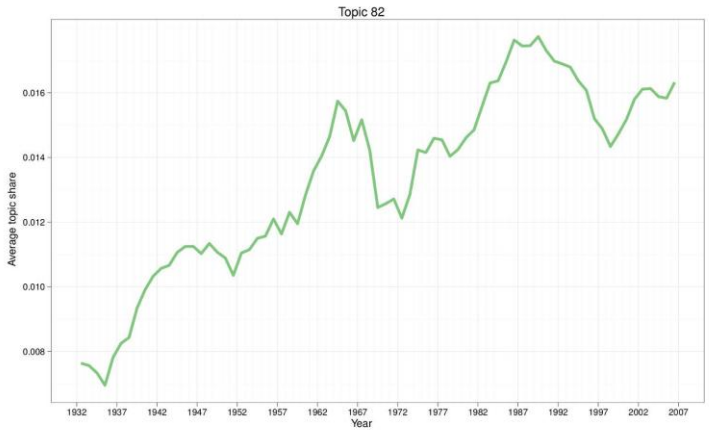
Figure 3.6. Topic 64: Characteristic words, five-year moving average, and repre- sentative articles

a separate journal for language instruction, *Die Unterrichspraxis*, which is not included in the corpus), the decline in the share of these articles is visible well before 1968.

The second trend is the gradual rise in articles concerned with lit- erature and literary criticism (fig. 3.7). This trend is connected with a topic characterized by words such as "literature," "literary," "writers," and "authors."

The recent history of US universities offers a context for these two trends. Both are characteristic of an expansionary period—the "golden age" of higher education in the United States. During this period—roughly between 1945 and 1975—the number of graduate students increased nearly 900 percent. In the 1960s, the number of doctorates awarded every year tripled. The Cold War is often cited among the factors contributing to the expansion of higher education generally and of graduate education in particular. In this period, research displaced teaching as the defining task of the professor. Research for scholars in the humanities was associated with literary history and, eventually, literary criticism.[25]

literature literary german writers authors century writer writing author period book contemporary texts novels



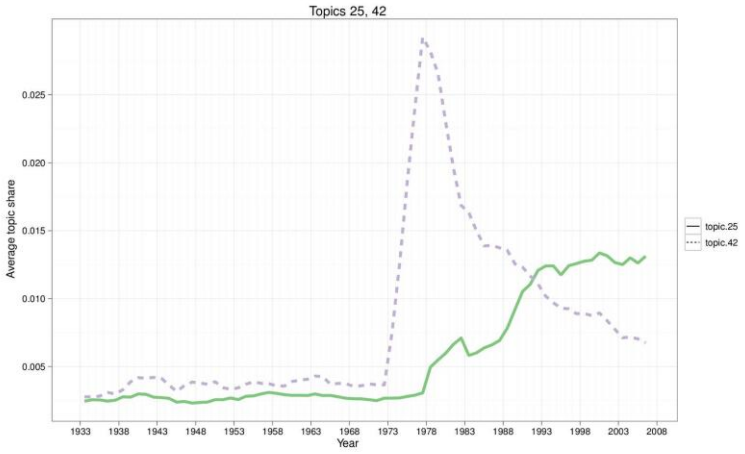
- Leland R. Phelps, review of *The Emergence of German as a Literary Language* by Eric A. Blackall, *Monatshefte* 52 (April-May 1960): 213-14.
- Andreas Kiryakakis, review of *Dictionary of Literary Biography: Volume 66: German Fiction Writers, 1885-1913 Part I: A-L* by James Hardin, *German Studies Review* 13 (May 1990): 331-32.
- Marianne Henn, review of *Benedikte Naubert (1756-1819) and Her Relations to English Culture* by Hilary Brown, *The German Quarterly* 79 (Fall 2006): 532-33.
- Stephen Brockmann, review of *German Literature of the 1990s and Beyond: Normalization and the Berlin Republic* by Stuart Taberner, *Monatshefte* 98 (Summer 2006): 318-19.
- Willa Schmidt, review of *German Fiction Writers, 1885-1913* by James Hardin *Monatshefte* 85 (Spring 1993): 99-101.

Figure 3.7. Topic 82: Characteristic words, five-year moving average, and repre- sentative articles

In addition to the decline of articles on teaching and rise of articles on research, two other topics exhibit distinctive trends (fig. 3.8). The first topic I associate with feminist criticism. Articles connected with this topic appear much more frequently after 1975. The second topic tracks the arrival of the journal *New German Critique* in 1974. Words strongly asso- ciated with the topic include "social," "bourgeois," "political," "class,"

Topic 25: women female woman male feminist gender sexual feminine social role patriarchal movement sex roles masculine

Topic 42: social bourgeois class political critique society theory historical capitalist production marxist marx revolutionary capitalism economic



Topic 25

- Elizabeth Heineman, "Gender Identity in the Wandervogel Movement," *German Studies Review* 12 (May 1989): 249-70.
- Agatha Schwartz, "Austrian Fin-de-Siècle Gender Heteroglossia: The Dialogism of Misogyny, Feminism, and Viriphobia," *German Studies Review* 28 (May 2005): 347-66.
- Maria Dobozy, "Women and Family Life in Early Modern German Literature," *Monatshefte* 98 (Spring 2006): 133-35.
- Meredith Lee, "Der androgyne Mensch: 'Bild' und 'Gestalt' der Frau und des Mannes im Werk Goethes," *The German Quarterly* 71 (Spring 1998): 186-87.
- Ursula Mahlendorf, "Frauen und Gewalt. Interdisziplinäre Untersuchungen zu geschlechtsgebundener Gewalt in Theorie und Praxis," *Monatshefte* 98 (Spring 2006): 141-43.

Topic 42

- Karl Korsch, "The Crisis of Marxism," *New German Critique*, no. 3 (Autumn 1974): 187-207.
- Rainer Paris, "Class Structure and Legitimatory Public Sphere: A Hypothesis on the Continued Existence of Class Relationships and the Problem of Legitimation in Transitional Societies," *New German Critique*, no. 5 (Spring 1975): 149-57.
- Herbert Marcuse, "The Failure of the New Left?" *New German Critique*, no. 18 (Autumn 1979): 3-11.
- Paul Piccone, "Korsch in Spain," review of *Karl Korsch o el Nacimiento de una Nueva Epoca*, ed. Eduardo Subirats, *New German Critique*, no. 6 (Autumn 1975): 148-63.
- Paul Piccone, "From Tragedy to Farce: The Return of Critical Theory," *New German Critique*, no. 7 (Winter 1976): 91-104.

Figure 3.8. Topics 25 and 42: Characteristic words, five-year moving averages, and representative articles

and "society." Herbert Marcuse's "The Failure of the New Left" numbers among the articles most strongly associated with this topic. None of the words comes as a surprise to those familiar with the journal. Its publisher describes the journal as having "played a significant role in introducing US readers to Frankfurt School thinkers."[26]

All the topics mentioned so far appear in different proportions in the corpus. Figure 3.9 shows the frequency of several topics over time on the same scale. Recall that what is being counted on the vertical axis is the average topic share among all articles in a given year (or the average proportion of all words in a given year associated with a given topic). If we accept for a moment the analogy between subject matter and topic, it would mean that a year with ten articles published and a 0.1 average share for the topic associated with language pedagogy might have two articles with half their words associated with the pedagogy topic. Or it might be the case that for all ten articles, one-tenth of their words were associated with the pedagogy topic. In either case, the average topic share is 0.1. It is also worth emphasizing that the LDA model makes use of relative rather than absolute word frequencies. That is, a 500-word review that is 20 percent topic 64 is treated the same, in certain important respects, as a 9,000-word article that is 20 percent topic 64, even though the number of words and share of space in the journal are different. Infrequent top- ics also bring with them their own set of concerns. With topics associated with only a few articles a year, such as the "folktales" topic discussed later, selection bias becomes a concern. It is possible that some trends are not

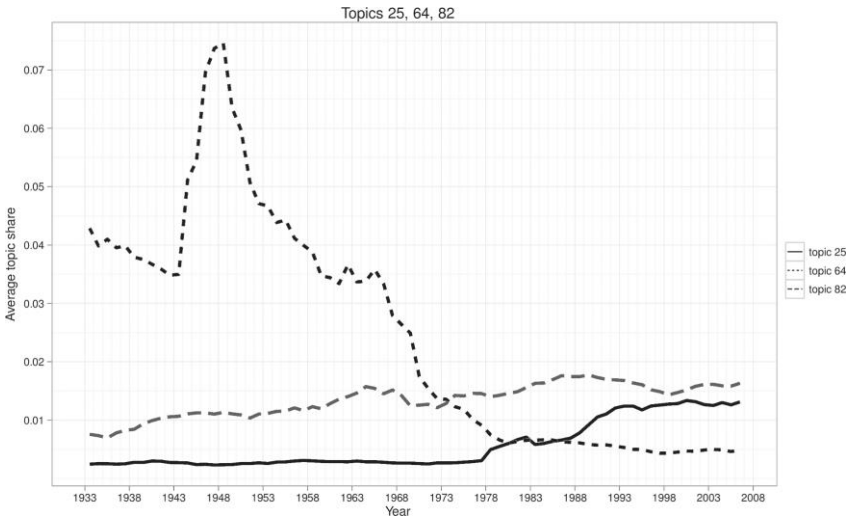


Figure 3.9. Comparison of topics 25 ("women . . ."), 64 ("students . . ."), and 82 ("literature . . .")

real in the sense that a rapid decline might reflect a certain kind of article migrating elsewhere—perhaps to a European history journal—rather than any decline in research on the subject in German studies generally.

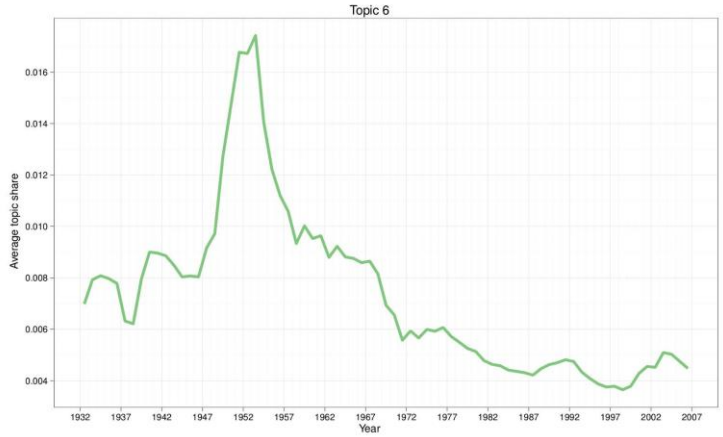
Long Nineteenth-Century Topics

Two topics that track specific areas of nineteenth-century scholarship are worth mentioning, as their trajectory over the period reveals predictable rhythms of scholarly publishing.

A single topic is associated with articles on the life and works of Goethe (fig. 3.10). A rapid increase in articles associated with this topic begins around 1947. This surge of articles coincides with the bicentennial of Goethe's birth (1749). *The German Quarterly*, for example, devoted the entire November 1949 issue to the bicentennial. That the topic model reflects this as well as it does offers additional validation that it is capable of capturing the gross features of the corpus.

Another topic identifies scholarship connected to folktales (fig. 3.11). With peaks around 1955 and 1990, there is a temptation to think that

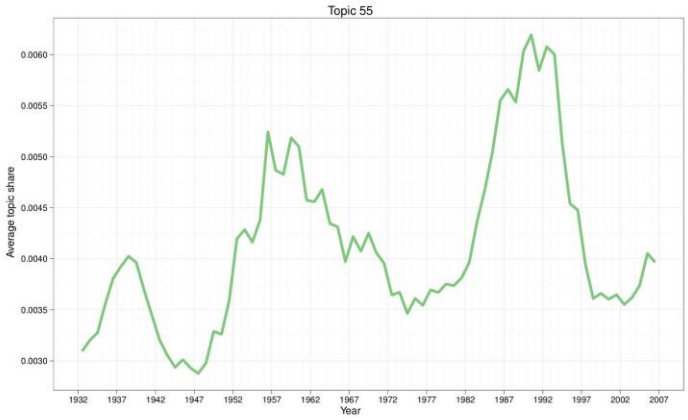
goethe faust goethes wilhelm werther weimar iphigenie ottilie gretchen charlotte meisters
mephisto meister dichtung wahlverwandtschaften



- L. M. Price, "Goethe Bibliography for 1939," *Monatshefte für deutschen Unterricht* 32, no. 2 (February 1940):83-88.
- Heinz Bluhm, "Goethe Bibliography for 1942 to 1944: German Non-Periodical Publications," *Monatshefte* 39, no. 2 (February 1947): 126-33.
- J. A. Kelly, "Goethe Bibliography for 1938," *Monatshefte für deutschen Unterricht* 31, no. 8 (December 1939): 400-06.
- Heinz Moenkemeyer, "Zum Verhältnis von Sorge, Furcht und Hoffnung in Goethes Faust," *The German Quarterly* 32, no. 2 (March 1959): 121-32.
- Hellmut Ammerlahn, "Mignons nachgetragene Vorgeschichte und das Inzestmotiv: Zur Genese und Symbolik der Goetheschen Geniusgestalten," *Monatshefte* 64, no. 1 (Spring 1972): 15-24.

Figure 3.10. Topic 6: Characteristic words, five-year moving average, and repre- sentative articles

tale tales fairy grimm folk wilhelm stories jacob brothers tradition grimms folklore magic story popular



- Maria M. Tatar, review of Breaking the Magic Spell: Radical Theories of Folk and Fairy Tales by Jack Zipes, *The German Quarterly* 55, no. 2 (March 1982): 231-32.
- Ruth B. Bottigheimer, review of One Fairy Story Too Many: The Brothers Grimm and Their Tales by John M. Ellis, Fairy Tales and the Art of Subversion: The Classical Genre for Children and the Process of Civilization by Jack Zipes, The Trials and Tribulations of Little Red Riding Hood: Versions of the Tale in Sociocultural Context by Jack Zipes, and Die Geschichte vom Rotkäppchen: Ursprünge, Analysen, Parodien eines Märchens by Hans Ritz, *The German Quarterly* 58, no. 1 (Winter 1985): 144-47.
- Ruth B. Bottigheimer, "Sixteenth-Century Tale Collections and Their Use in the 'Kinder- und Hausmärchen,'" *Monatshefte* 82, no. 4 (Winter 1992): 472-90.
- Ruth B. Bottigheimer, "Tale Spinners: Submerged Voices in Grimms' Fairy Tales," *New German Critique*, no. 27 (Autumn 1982): 141-50.
- Donald P. Haase, review of The Trials and Tribulations of Little Red Riding Hood: Versions of the Tale in Sociocultural Context by Jack Zipes, *Monatshefte* 78, no. 3 (Fall 1986): 385-86.

Figure 3.11. Topic 55: Characteristic words, five-year moving average, and repre- sentative articles

interest in folktales may rise and fall in a regular cycle. Yet further reflec- tion yields a simpler explanation for the second rise: the anniversary of the births of Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm (1785 and 1786, respectively). The fluctuations in the topic's prevalence before 1970 may be due to a num- ber of factors. For example, the arrival of new journals emphasizing schol- arship on twentieth-century subjects seems likely to have contributed to the decline in the relative share of articles concerned with scholarship on folktales.

Topic-Modeling Pitfalls

While LDA has proven an effective method for exploring very large collections of texts, it has important shortcomings, some of which are shared by other topic models. First, topics lack an interpretation apart from the probabilistic model in use. Articles may be compared in terms of their topics—one such measurement is called the Kullbeck-Leibler divergence—but this metric suffers from problems of interpretation

familiar from the discussion of cosine distance. Moreover, recent work has shown that automatic measures of the fit between a topic model and a corpus (e.g., held-out likelihood) do not always align with human readers' assessments of the coherence of inferred topics, suggesting a mismatch at some level between topic models and topics familiar to human read- ers.[27] Given this shortcoming, it becomes essential that those using topic models validate the description provided by a topic model by reference to something other than the topic model itself. Fortunately researchers familiar with the period, documents, and writers associated with a corpus typically have the expertise to devise appropriate checks.

An additional complication is the fact that the number of topics in a model is *arbitrary*. In this chapter, I made use of a thirty-topic fit (fig. 3.5) and a hundred-topic fit to characterize the same corpus of jour- nal articles. While many of the topics of the thirty-topic fit resemble those of the hundred-topic fit, the topics are distinct. That the number of topics and the composition of the inferred topics can vary in this manner should reinforce the idea that an individual topic has no interpretation outside the particular model in use. Blei and his coauthors are admirably clear on this point.[28]

LDA and other topic models also make assumptions known to be incorrect.[29] For example, LDA assumes that the association of words with a topic does not vary over time. In other words, LDA assumes scholars are using the *same collection of words* to talk about folktales in the year 1940 and the year 2000. We know this is wrong. That LDA works as well as it does is due to the fact that many words are used consistently over time. That is, regardless of the decade in which the articles were written, articles about Goethe's life will tend to use words like "Goethe" and "Faust." For other kinds of inquiry, especially those concerned with less conspicu- ous trends, changes in language use are a significant concern. Changes in terminology in particular—for example, if writers systematically begin using "folklore" in a context where they previously would have used "folktales"—present a potential problem for LDA. For all these reasons, the assumptions made by topic models require close and careful reading.

Prospects for Topic Models

Long nineteenth-century materials, in particular, are unusually hospita- ble to the use of machine reading and probabilistic models. A staggering amount of printed material survives to the present day. Moreover, these texts are all unencumbered by copyright in the United States. Contrast this with the disposition of materials published in the twentieth century. Scholars working with printed material from the twentieth century are hamstrung by copyright law—unable to share text collections freely if the collections contain works published after 1924.

For researchers in the humanities and interpretive social sciences, learning how to use and reflect critically about models such as LDA is growing easier. Leading universities such as MIT and Stanford have announced a number of freely accessible online courses that cover prob- ability and computational linguistics. These courses discuss the bag-of- words model and probabilistic models of text collections. One such course is taught by Andrew Ng, the third author of the original LDA paper.

This chapter has made no attempt to use topic models to investi- gate existing accounts of the history of German studies. Beginning with specific hypotheses, however, often makes for compelling research. Per- haps unsurprisingly, it has been computational linguists who have pio- neered using topic models to ask specific questions about the history of their own discipline.[30] For example, David Hall takes up a hypothesis inspired by Thomas Kuhn's account of the historical trajectory of sci- ence as one punctuated by periodic "revolutions" in dominant meth- ods.[31] Hall observes that there have been widely acknowledged shifts in the prominence of certain methods within computational linguistics over the past twenty years. If these methodological shifts represented a revolutionary change of "paradigm" in Kuhn's sense, then Hall antici- pated that the researchers associated with "insurgent" methods would not be participants in a field—that is, authors of articles—with long stand- ing. In other words, these researchers would be new arrivals, not estab- lished scholars abandoning existing methodologies in favor of new ones. A topic model of journal articles allowed Hall to identify significant methodological shifts in the discipline and those authors associated with the changes. This general line of inquiry—with or without the guiding Kuhnian perspective—could be adapted to a number of other disciplines, including German studies. As this chapter has demonstrated, there are a number of changes in method and subject matter that are visible in the discipline's journals since 1928. Future research might use quantitative methods to identify the scholars associated with these shifts.

My aim in this chapter has been to show that a topic model reveals disciplinary trends that would otherwise be prohibitively time consum- ing to document. Used alongside direct and collaborative reading, topic models have the potential to offer new perspectives on existing materials and novel accounts of the dynamics of intellectual history.

Notes

1 Sharon Block and David Newman, "What, Where, When, and Sometimes Why: Data Mining Two Decades of Women's History Abstracts," *Journal of Women's History* 23, no. 1 (2011): 81–109; Justin Grimmer, "A Bayesian Hierarchical Topic Model for Political Texts: Measuring Expressed Agendas in Senate Press Releases," *Political Analysis* 18, no. 1 (2010): 1–35; David Hall, "Tracking the

Evolution of Science" (bachelor's thesis, Stanford University, 2008); David Hall, Daniel Jurafsky, and Christopher D. Manning, "Studying the History of Ideas Using Topic Models," in *Proceedings of the Conference on Empirical Methods in Natural Language Processing* (Honolulu, HI: Association for Computational Lin- guistics, 2008), 363–71; David Mimno, "Computational Historiography: Data Mining in a Century of Classics Journals," *ACM Journal of Computing in Cul- tural Heritage* 5, no. 1 (2012), doi:10.1145/2160165.2160168.

2 Gregory Crane, "What Do You Do with a Million Books?" *D-Lib Magazine* 12, no. 3 (March 2006), doi:10.1045/march2006-crane.

3 David Mimno and David Blei, "Bayesian Checking for Topic Models," in *Pro- ceedings of the 2011 Conference on Empirical Methods in Natural Language Pro- cessing* (Somerset, NJ: Association for Computational Linguistics, 2011), 227–37; Robert K. Nelson, "Mining the Dispatch," Digital Scholarship Lab, University of Richmond, accessed March 28, 2012, http://dsl.richmond.edu/dispatch.

4 Laurel Ulrich, *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on Her Diary, 1785–1812* (New York, NY: Knopf, 1990).

5 Kirsten Belgum, *Popularizing the Nation: Audience, Representation, and the Production of Identity in Die Gartenlaube, 1853–1900* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998); Fritz K. Ringer, *The Decline of the German Mandarins: The German Academic Community, 1890–1933* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Uni- versity Press, 1969).

6 Larry Isaac, "Movements, Aesthetics, and Markets in Literary Change: Mak- ing the American Labor Problem Novel," *American Sociological Review* 74, no. 6 (2009): 938–65, doi:10.1177/000312240907400605; Franco Moretti, *Graphs, Maps, Trees: Abstract Models for Literary History* (London: Verso, 2005); Carl P. Simon and Eric S. Rabkin, "Culture, Science Fiction, and Complex Adaptive Sys- tems: The Work of the Genre Evolution Project," in *Biocomplexity at the Cutting Edge of Physics, Systems Biology and Humanities*, ed. Gastone Castellani et al. (Bolo- gna: Bononia University Press, 2008), 279–94; John Unsworth, "20th-Century American Bestsellers," accessed October 29, 2013, http://people.lis.illinois.edu/~unsworth/courses/bestsellers.

7 Eric S. Rabkin, "Science Fiction and the Future of Criticism," *PMLA* 119, no. 3 (2004): 457–73; Simon and Rabkin, "Culture, Science Fiction, and Complex Adap- tive Systems."

8 Isaac, "Movements, Aesthetics, and Markets in Literary Change."

9 N. Katherine Hayles, *How We Think: Digital Media and Contemporary Techno- genesis* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 55–80.

10 *Monatshefte* changed its name three times between 1899 and 1946. While referred to simply as *Monatshefte* in the United States, its full title since 1946 has been *Monatshefte für deutschsprachige Literatur und Kultur*. The original size of the corpus provided by JSTOR was 26,104 documents. From this initial cor- pus, I removed articles flagged by JSTOR as "misc," typically front matter and advertisements, as well as documents having fewer than two hundred words. This yielded the corpus of 22,198. To facilitate computation, rare words (those occur- ring in fewer than ten documents) were removed, along with extremely frequent

words in German and English (so-called stop words) and words with only one or two characters. The size of the remaining lexicon was 74,158 unique terms. The total number of words in all articles was 15,680,621.

11 This final step—removing all numbers—creates a special problem with this cor- pus. Since the Eszett (ß) is mangled by JSTOR OCR into "l3," all words contain- ing ß are removed as they contain a numeric character ("3"). Given the nature of this present inquiry—the concern for clear trends visible across many articles—this does not present a serious problem: any easily detectable trend in the corpus will be the product of *many* words systematically co-occurring.

12 James Boyle, *The Public Domain: Enclosing the Commons of the Mind* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008); Lawrence Lessig, *Free Culture: The Nature and Future of Creativity* (New York: Penguin Press, 2005).

13 Formally, we might consider a bag in the context of the following three concepts: set, bag, and sequence. A set is an unordered list of elements that ignores order and duplicates, $S = \{4,4,5\} = \{4,5\}$. A bag is an unordered list that takes into account repeated elements, $B = \{4,4,4,5\} = \{5,4,4,4\}$. A sequence considers both order and repeated elements, $Q = \{4,4,5\} \neq \{5,4,4\}$.

14 Michael J. Crowe, *A History of Vector Analysis: The Evolution of the Idea of a Vectorial System* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1967).

15 Christopher D. Manning and Hinrich Schüzte, *Foundations of Statistical Natu- ral Language Processing* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999).

16 Michael Lee, Brandon Pincombe, and Matthew Welsh, "An Empirical Evalu- ation of Models of Text Document Similarity," in *Proceedings of the 27th Annual Conference of the Cognitive Science Society* (Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum, 2005), 1254–59.

17 David M. Blei, Andrew Y. Ng, and Michael I. Jordan, "Latent Dirichlet Alloca- tion," *Journal of Machine Learning Research* 3 (2003): 993–1022.

18 Dirichlet was a contemporary of Carl Friedrich Gauss and Carl Gustav Jacobi. Alexander von Humbolt supported his candidacy to the Prussian Academy of Sci- ences. Through Humbolt he met his future wife, Rebecka Mendelssohn, sister of the composer Felix Mendelssohn and granddaughter of Moses Mendelssohn. Dirichlet played a vital role in the development of modern mathematics, the mod- ern definition of a function being credited to him. See I. M. James, *Remarkable Mathematicians: From Euler to von Neumann* (Washington, DC: Mathematical Association of America, 2002).

19 David Blei, "Introduction to Probabilistic Topic Models," *Communications of the ACM* 55, no. 4 (2012): 77–84, doi:10.1145/2133806.2133826. Blei's
commentary is worth repeating: "Indeed calling these models 'topic models' is retrospective—the topics that emerge from the inference algorithm are interpre- table for almost any collection that is analyzed. The fact that these look like topics has to do with the statistical structure of observed language and how it interacts with the specific probabilistic assumptions of LDA" (79).

20 For subsequent developments, see David M. Blei and John D. Lafferty, "Dynamic Topic Models," in *Proceedings of the 23rd International Conference on Machine Learning*, ed. William Cohen and Andrew Moore (Pittsburgh, PA:

Association for Computing Machinery, 2006), 113–20; Yee Whye Teh et al., "Hierarchical Dirichlet Processes," *Journal of the American Statistical Association* 101, no. 476 (2006): 1566–81; Hannah Wallach, David Mimno, and Andrew McCallum, "Rethinking LDA: Why Priors Matter," in *Advances in Neural Infor- mation Processing Systems 22*, ed. Y. Bengio et al. (La Jolla, CA: Neural Information Processing Systems: 2009), 1973–81; Sinead Williamson, Chong Wang, Kather- ine A. Heller, and David M. Blei. "The IBP Compound Dirichlet Process and Its Application to Focused Topic Modeling," in *Proceedings of the 27th International Conference on Machine Learning*, ed. Thorsten Joachims and Johannes Fürnkranz (Madison, WI: International Machine Learning Society, 2010), 1151–58.

21 Other introductions to LDA include Blei, "Introduction to Probabilistic Topic Models," and David M. Blei and John D. Lafferty, "Topic Models," in *Text Min- ing: Classification, Clustering, and Applications*, ed. Ashok Srivastava and Mehran Sahami (Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press, 2009), 71–94.

22 Allen B. Riddell, "A Simple Topic Model," accessed October 29, 2013, http://purl.org/NET/how-to-read-n-articles-appendix.

23 The validation of topic models is an area of research in its own right. For a discussion of the issue, see Jonathan Chang et al., "Reading Tea Leaves: How Humans Interpret Topic Models," in *Advances in Neural Information Processing Systems 22*, ed. Y. Bengio (La Jolla, CA: Neural Information Processing Systems, 2009), 288–96.

24 The specific number of topics has no meaning itself, apart from the particular probabilistic model used. In practice, however, varying the number of topics tends to vary how "finely grained" the resulting topics are. For further discussion, see Wallach, Mimno, and McCallum, "Rethinking LDA,1973–81." The R software environment was used to model the data in conjunction with the tm and topic- models packages; visualizations were made using ggplot2. See R Development Core Team, *R: A Language and Environment for Statistical Computing* (Vienna: R Foundation for Statistical Computing, 2011); Ingo Feinerer, Kurt Hornik, and David Meyer, "Text Mining Infrastructure in R," *Journal of Statistical Software* 25, no. 5 (March 2008): 1–54; Bettina Grün and Kurt Hornik, "topicmodels: An R Package for Fitting Topic Models," *Journal of Statistical Software* 40, no. 13 (2011): 1–30.

25 Louis Menand, *The Marketplace of Ideas: Reform and Resistance in the Ameri- can University* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2010), 64–66, 74–77.

26 This description comes from the journal's page on its publisher's website (http://www.dukeupress.edu/Catalog/ViewProduct.php?viewby=journal&productid=45622).

27 Chang et al., "Reading Tea Leaves," 288–96.

28 Blei, Ng, and Jordan, "Latent Dirichlet Allocation," 996n1.

29 Wallach, Mimno, and McCallum, "Rethinking LDA"; Williamson et al., "The IBP Compound Dirichlet Process and Its Application to Focused Topic Model- ing"; David M. Blei and John D. Lafferty, "A Correlated Topic Model of Science," *The Annals of Applied Statistics* 1, no. 1 (2007): 17–35, doi:10.1214/07- AOAS114; Blei and Lafferty, "Dynamic Topic Models."

30 Hall, "Tracking the Evolution of Science"; Hall, Jurafsky, and Manning, "Studying the History of Ideas Using Topic Models"; Yanchuan Sim, Noah Smith, and David Smith, "Discovering Factions in the Computational Linguis- tics Community," in *Proceedings of the ACL Workshop on Rediscovering Fifty Years of Discoveries* (Jeju, Korea: Association for Computational Linguistics, 2012): 22–23.

31 Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962).

Abstract

This compilation thesis contains an introductory chapter and four original articles. The studies comprising this thesis all concern aspects of how histor- ical culture is constituted in historical media and history teachers' narratives and teaching. It is argued that the teaching of history is a complex matterdue to an internal tension resulting from the fact that history is both a prod- uct and a process at the same time. While historical facts, and knowledge thereof, are an important aspect of history, history is also a product of care- ful interpretation and reconstruction. This study analyses and discusses how history is constituted in history textbooks and popular history magazines, i.e.two common historical media, and in teachers' narratives and teaching of history.

The study finds that the historical media studied generally tend to present history as void of perspective, interpretation and representation, suggesting this to be the culturally warranted form of historical exposition. Moreover, the teachers studied also tend to approach history as if it were not contingenton interpretation and reconstruction. These results indicate that the history disseminated in historical media and history classrooms presents history in a factual way and disregards the procedural aspects of history.

Applying the history didactical concepts of historical consciousness, his- torical culture and uses of history, this thesis argues that an essential aspect of historical understanding is an appreciation of the contextual contingency that characterises history. All history is conceived within a particular context that is pertinent to why and how a certain version of history is constructed. Furthermore, all history is also received within a particular context by peoplewith particular preconceptions of history that are contextually contingent, in the sense that they are situated in a certain historical culture. Readers of historical media are members of societies and are thus affected by how histo- ry is perceived and discussed in these contexts. This thesis argues that an awareness of these aspects of history is an important factor for furthering a complex understanding of history that encompasses the tension highlighted above.

Introduction

It has been claimed that history is a fundamental aspect of how we perceive ourselves and the world around us.[1] The historical dimension helps us to navigate in life and is an integral part of

our identity constitution.[2] As such, it could be argued that history is something larger than what is produced in academic institutions across the world or that is being disseminated in histo- ry textbooks or in history classrooms.[3] It could further be argued that there are cultural aspects related to history as well, and that we partake in a num- ber of historical cultures[4] in our everyday and professional lives. These his- torical cultures affect what we perceive to be historically relevant and mean- ingful, and at the same time we affect and influence these historical cultures through our relations to, and dissemination of, history.[5] With this view, our relations to history take on the character of contingency: who we are, where we are situated and when we live become crucial aspects of how we perceive and approach history. This also has repercussions for history education.

According to what has sometimes been termed the 'practical' or 'cultural turn' in research, all meaning that can be derived from various media is con- tingent on how it is interpreted and negotiated by people[6] and this over- arching perspective has inspired the hermeneutic approach taken in this thesis. If we focus on history and history education, this means that how we approach, interpret and teach history is contingent on our preconceptions and uses of it. From this perspective, studies of how historical media are perceived or interpreted need to pay close attention to the contexts in which these historical media are conceived and interpreted.[7] This research project

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[1] See Klas-Göran Karlsson, 'Historia, historiedidaktik och historiekultur - teori och perspektiv', in *Historien är närvarande: Historiedidaktik som teori och tillämpning*, ed. Klas-Göran Karlsson and Ulf Zander (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2014), 13–89; Paul Boghos Zanazanian, *Historical Consciousness and the Construction of Inter-Group Relations: The Case of Francophone and Anglophone History School Teachers in Quebec* (Montréal: Université de Montréal, 2009), 23–24.

[2] Jörn Rüsen, 'Historical Consciousness: Narrative, Structure, Moral Function, and Ontogenetic Develop-
ment', in *Theorizing Historical Consciousness*, ed. Peter Seixas (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 67.

[3] Bernard Eric Jensen, 'Historiemedvetande - begreppsanalys, samhällsteori, didaktik', in *Historiedidaktik*, ed. Christer Karlegärd and Klas-Göran Karlsson (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 1997), 49–81.

[4] The notion 'historical culture' is understood in this context as a notion that deals with what relationships individuals, groups, or societies may have to history that may be studied through various artefacts, such as historical media.

[5] See Henrik Åström Elmersjö, 'Historical Culture and Peace Education: Some Issues for History Teaching as a Means of Conflict Resolution', in *Contesting and Constructing International Perspectives on Global Educa- tion*, ed. Ruth Reynolds et al. (Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 2015), 161–62.

[6] See David G. Stern, 'The Practical Turn', in *The Blackwell Guide to the Philosophy of the Social Sciences*, ed. Stephen P. Turner and Paul A. Roth (Padstow: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2003), 185, 192–200.

[7] See Robert J. Parkes, *Interrupting History: Rethinking History Curriculum after 'The End of History'*, Counterpoints: Studies in the Postmodern Theory of Education., Volume 404 (New York: Peter Lang Publish- ing, 2011), 5; K. H. Sievers, 'Toward a Direct Realist Account of Observation', *Science & Education* 8, no. 4 (1 July 1999): 387–93.

aligns with this theoretical position, and it aims to analyse and discuss how historical culture is constituted in historical media and in history teachers' narratives and implemented teaching. This research uses the central history didactical concepts of historical consciousness, uses of history and historical culture to enable comprehensive analyses of how historical media present history. Furthermore, analyses are carried out of how teachers narrate their interpretations of a textbook

account relating the outbreak of the Cold War, their personal experiences of the same historical event, and how they teach it to their pupils. These history didactical concepts are, as has been pointed out in research, vague and difficult to apply, and their inter-relations are in need of further theoretical specification.[8] Consequently, one ambition of this re- search has been to specify, operationalise and apply these concepts in analy- sis to enable studies of how history is represented, approached and per- ceived, both regarding personal and public aspects that are pertinent concerning history didactics in particular, and history in general. For these rea- sons, effort has been made to specifying and operationalising these concepts to enable a study of how historical culture is constituted in historical media and history teachers' narratives and teaching.

History teachers could be regarded as having multiple and, perhaps, con- flicting, roles to play. On the one hand they are individuals with their own personal experiences and views of history. On the other, they are profession- als that are expected to teach what could be regarded as 'the official history' as portrayed in history curricula and historical media,[9] i.e. they may have to navigate between different historical cultures and both public and personal aspects of these historical cultures.[10] Furthermore, history education has gone through rather fundamental changes during the last 50 years. It has gone from being aimed at disseminating a mono- perspectival national narra- tive to being a subject aimed at developing a complex historical understand-

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[1] See Erik Axelsson, 'Historia i bruk och medvetande: En kritisk diskussion av två historiografiska begrepp', in *En helt annan historia: Tolv historiografiska uppsatser*, ed. Samuel Edquist et al., vol. s. 11-26, Opuscula Historica Upsalensia 31 (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 2004); Karl-Ernst Jeismann, 'Geschichtsbewußtsein - Theorie', in *Handbuch Der Geschichtsdidaktik*, ed. Klaus Bergmann et al., 5th ed. (Hannover: Kallmeyer'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1997), 42; Klas-Göran Karlsson, 'Historical Consciousness – The Fundament of Histor- ical Thinking and History Teaching', in *The Processes of History Teaching: An International Symposium Held at Malmö University, Sweden, March 5th-7th 2009*, ed. Per Eliasson, Carina Rönnqvist and Kenneth Nordgren, Studier i de samhällsvetenskapliga ämnenas didaktik 15 (Karlstad: Karlstads universitet, 2011), 34–41; Kenneth Nordgren, *Vems är historien?: Historia som medvetande, kultur och handling i det mång- kulturella Sverige*, Doktorsavhandlingar inom den nationella forskarskolan i pedagogiskt arbete, 1653-6894; 3 (Umeå: Fakultetsnämnden för lärarutbildning, Umeå universitet, 2006), 15.

[2] See Bjorn G. J. Wansink et al., 'Epistemological Tensions in Prospective Dutch History Teachers' Beliefs about the Objectives of Secondary Education', *The Journal of Social Studies Research*, n.d., accessed 14 April 2016.

[3] See K. G. Hammarlund, 'Historia som ämnesdisciplin och vardagsliv – ämnesdidaktiska utmaningar i ett flerkulturellt samhälle', *Nordidactica: Journal of Humanities and Social Science Education*, no. 2015:3 (2015): 5–6.

ing and an international multi-perspectival approach to history.[11] Research has noted, however, that a traditional approach to history education charac- terised by a focus on a national or Eurocentric perspective and content knowledge is still practiced despite these curricular changes, indicating what may be called a historical cultural lag.[12] On a more general level, this raises the question of what history is taught and should be taught in schools and what the characteristics of the subject are perceived to be. The results pre- sented here will be used to further a discussion about these aspects of history education.

By designing four independent case studies, different kinds of empirical data were collected that allowed for further enhancement and fine tuning of the theoretical and methodological approaches taken. In the first case study Ianalysed an extract from a history textbook relating Swedish post World WarII history; in the second case study I analysed popular history magazines' portrayals of the outbreak of World War I; in the third case study I analysed how lower secondary school history teachers analysed a quotation from a history textbook detailing the emergence of the Cold War conflict; and in the fourth case study I interviewed lower secondary school history teachers about their experiences of growing up during the Cold War, and observed these teachers when teaching the same unit in class. Thus, through analyses of historical media (i.e. history textbooks and popular history magazines), teacher interviews and classroom observations, a variety of different data was collected in order to analyse how teachers relate to different aspects of historical culture as professionals, i.e. how they use history in history educa- tion. The research questions I posed were:

1. How is history represented in contemporary history textbooks and pop- ular history magazines in terms of content and uses of history?
2. How do history teachers relate to history concerning history textbooks, personal experiences of history and the teaching of history, in terms of content and uses of history?
3. What aspects of historical culture are constituted in historical mediaand history teachers' narratives and teaching?

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[8] Sirkka Ahonen, 'History Education in Post-Conflict Societies', *Historical Encounters* 1, no. 1 (30 June 2014): 76; Maria Johansson, *Historieundervisning och interkulturell kompetens* (Karlstad: Karlstads univer- sitet, 2012), 9–10; Andreas Körber, 'Translation and Its Discontents II: A German Perspective', *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 48, no. 4 (3 July 2016): 441; Thomas Nygren, *History in the Service of Mankind: Inter- national Guidelines and History Education in Upper Secondary Schools in Sweden, 1927–2002*, Umeå Studies in History and Education 5 (Umeå: Umeå universitet, 2011).

[9] Keith C. Barton and Linda S. Levstik, *Teaching History for the Common Good* (Routledge, 2004), 249–51; Vanja Lozic, *I historiekanons skugga: Historieämne och identifikationsformering i 2000-talets mångkultu- rella samhälle* (Malmö: Lärarutbildningen, Malmö högskola, 2010), 217–19; Jukka Rantala, 'How Finnish Adolescents Understand History: Disciplinary Thinking in History and Its Assessment Among 16-Year-Old Finns', *Education Sciences* 2, no. 4 (31 October 2012): 193–207.

Previous Research

This section presents previous history didactical research that is relevant to the present study in terms of how historical media (i.e. history textbooks and popular history magazines) constitute and portray aspects of historical cul- ture and how history teachers relate to historical media and history. The first sub-section presents research on history textbooks and popular history mag- azines (since this is the focus of this study) and the second sub-section pre- sents research focused on history teachers. Since this study takes place in and relates to a Swedish context both regarding historical media and history education, I have chosen to focus primarily on Swedish research within thesefields and supplement this research with relevant international research.

Historical Media: History Textbooks and Popular History Magazines

A large number of recent studies have analysed historical media from the perspectives of production, content and reception. These studies have ana- lysed historical educational media such

as textbooks, popular and documen- tary films, primary sources and popular history magazines from a number of perspectives. More specifically, and in relation to this particular study, a number of studies have focused on history textbooks and popular history magazines, and these are the ones I will address below.

While textbook research has generally been a discipline inclined towards analyses of content (and this appears to be the most dominant trend in con- temporary research on history textbooks),[15] some research has also looked at the use and reception of textbooks in educational practice. Studies of the content of history textbooks have analysed that content to identify the characteristics that certain textbook narratives have generally[16] and on a number

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[10] See Simone Lässig, 'Textbooks and Beyond: Educational Media in Context(s)', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 1, no. 1 (1 April 2009): 14–15.

[11] See Samira Alayan and Naseema Al-Khalidi, 'Gender and Agency in History, Civics, and National Educa- tion Textbooks of Jordan and Palestine', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 2, no. 1 (30 May 2010): 78–96; Mireille Estivalèzes, 'Teaching about Islam in the History Curriculum and in Textbooks in France', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 3, no. 1 (30 April 2011): 45–60; Shreya Ghosh,
'Identity, Politics, and Nation-Building in History Textbooks in Bangladesh', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 6, no. 2 (1 September 2014): 25–41; Eleftherios Klerides, 'Imagining the Textbook:
Textbooks as Discourse and Genre', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 2, no. 1 (30 May 2010): 31–54; Arie Kizel, 'The Presentation of Germany in Israeli History Textbooks between 1948 and 2014', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 7, no. 1 (1 March 2015): 94–115; Jörg Lehmann, 'Civili- zation versus Barbarism: The Franco-Prussian War in French History Textbooks, 1875–1895', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 7, no. 1 (1 March 2015): 51–65; Willeke Los, 'Remembering or Forgetting? Accounts of the Recent Revolutionary Past in Dutch History Textbooks for Primary Education in the Early Nineteenth Century', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 4, no. 1 (5 June 2012): 26–39; Ina Markova, 'Balancing Victimhood and Complicity in Austrian History Textbooks: Visual and Verbal Strategies of Representing the Past in Post-Waldheim Austria', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 3, no. 2 (15 November 2011): 58–73; Deepa Nair, 'Contending "Historical" Identities in India', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 1, no. 1 (1 April 2009): 145–64; Ryôta Nishino, 'Narrative Strate-

of issues (e.g. minority groups,[17] relations to a larger historical culture[18] and specific historical topics or events[19]), as well as the propensities in textbook narratives that develop certain features in their readers.[20] Research has also noted that history textbooks tend to reflect political and social trends in the societies for which they were intended, both concerning what motives pub- lishers and authors may have had regarding choice of content and exposi- tion, and what is considered to be historically relevant and meaningful.[21] In this sense, history textbooks may be argued to reflect the dominant historical culture in the societies to which they correspond since they present a version

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gies Regarding Japanese Ethnic Origins and Cultural Identities in Japanese Middle-School History Text- books', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 2, no. 1 (30 May 2010): 97–112; Gabriel Pirický, 'The Ottoman Age in Southern Central Europe as Represented in Secondary School History Textbooks in the
Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 5, no. 1 (22 May 2013): 108–29; Seth B. Scott, 'The Perpetuation of War in U. S. History Textbooks', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 1, no. 1 (1 April 2009): 59–70.

[12] See Keith Crawford, 'Constructing Aboriginal Australians, 1930–1960 Projecting False Memories', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 5, no. 1 (22 May 2013): 90–107; Stuart J. Foster, 'The Struggle for American Identity: Treatment of Ethnic Groups in United States History Textbooks', *History of Education* 28, no. 3 (1 September 1999): 251–78; Anne Gaul, 'Where Are the Minorities? The Elusiveness of Multicultur-alism and Positive Recognition in Sri Lankan History Textbooks', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 6, no. 2 (1 September 2014): 87–105; Nordgren, *Vems är historien?*

[13] See Lena Almqvist Nielsen, *Förhistorien som kulturellt minne: Historiekulturell förändring i svenska läroböcker 1903-2010*, Licentiatavhandlingar från forskarskolan historiska medier 10 (Umeå: Umeå universi- tet, 2014); Shinichi Arai, 'History Textbooks in Twentieth Century Japan: A Chronological Overview', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 2, no. 2 (30 October 2010): 113–21; Catherine Broom, 'Change and Continuity in British Columbian Perspectives as Illustrated in Social Studies Textbooks from 1885 to 2006', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 3, no. 2 (15 November 2011): 42–57; Foster, 'The Struggle for American Identity'; Nair, 'Contending "Historical" Identities in India'; Marcus Otto, 'The Chal- lenge of Decolonization School History Textbooks as Media and Objects of the Postcolonial Politics of Memory in France since the 1960s', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 5, no. 1 (22 May 2013): 14–32.

[14] See Luigi Cajani, 'The Image of Italian Colonialism in Italian History Textbooks for Secondary Schools', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 5, no. 1 (22 May 2013): 72–89; Stuart Foster and Adrian Burgess, 'Problematic Portrayals and Contentious Content: Representations of the Holocaust in English
History Textbooks', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 5, no. 2 (1 September 2013): 20–38; Janne Holmén, *Den politiska läroboken: Bilden av USA och Sovjetunionen i norska, svenska och finländska läroböcker under kalla kriget*, Studia Historica Upsaliensia, 0081-6531; 221 (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2006); Kizel, 'The Presentation of Germany in Israeli History Textbooks between 1948 and 2014'; Jason Nicholls, 'The Portrayal of the Atomic Bomging of Nagasaki in US and English School History Text- books', *Internationale Schulbuchforschung* 25, no. 1/2 (2003): 63–84; Anders Persson, 'Mormor, oönskade tyskar och en hänsynslös dansk: Några reflektioner om identifikation och mening, efter en kritisk läsning av en nyutgiven lärobok i historia för den svenska grundskolans mellanår', in *Kulturell reproduktion i skola och nation: En vänbok till Lars Petterson*, ed. Urban Claesson and Dick Åhman (Hedemora: Gidlunds, 2016), 251–68; Heather Sharp, 'Representing Australia's Involvement in the First World War: Discrepancies be- tween Public Discourses and School History Textbooks

from 1916 to 1936', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 6, no. 1 (1 March 2014): 1–23.

[15] See Niklas Ammert, *Det osamtidigas samtidighet: Historiemedvetande i svenska historieläroböcker under hundra år* (Uppsala: Sisyfos, 2008); Niklas Ammert, 'To Bridge Time: Historical Consciousness in Swedish History Textbooks', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 2, no. 1 (30 May 2010): 17– 30; Halvdan Eikeland, *Et laereverks bidrag til historiebevissthet og narrativ kompetanse. Analyse og prak- tisk bruk av historiedelen av Aschehougs laerevérk i samfunnstag for ungdomstrinnet: 'Innblikk'* (Tönsberg: Högskolen i Vestfold, 2002); Nordgren, *Vems är historien?*

[16] See Ingmarie Danielsson Malmros, *Det var en gång ett land... Berättelser om svenskhet i historieläro- böcker och elevers föreställningsvärldar* (Höör: Agering, 2012), 261–64; Foster, 'The Struggle for American Identity', 275–77; Holmén, *Den politiska läroboken*, 314ff.

of the past that often takes political and social considerations of history into account.[22] Recent studies of Swedish history textbooks have highlighted this tendency. Ingmarie Danielsson Malmros studied how Swedish history text- books narrated a Swedish national identity. She found that changes in text- book narratives seemed to coincide with social and political changes in Swe- dish society.[23] Janne Holmén examined how Swedish textbooks presented the USA and the USSR in the period between the 1930's and the early 21st century. Holmén found that the images presented of these countries corre- sponded with political relations between Sweden and these countries. Of particular relevance here are Holmén's results that show a tendency in Swe- dish textbooks to increase their criticism of the USSR since its collapse in 1991.[24] Holmén finds that Swedish history textbooks published between 1990 and 2004 generally had nothing positive to say about the Soviet sys- tem, which in turn could be regarded as corresponding to a similar trend in contemporary Sweden.[25]

However, it has been noted that history textbook research not only needs to pay attention to content, but also to context both regarding the production and consumption of these books, since textbooks are intended to be used in a particular context.[26] In this regard, some studies have looked at the question of reception: how do readers' preconceptions affect how they read and inter- pret a narrative,[27] and other studies have analysed how textbooks are used and perceived by teachers and/or pupils.[28] Israeli researcher Dan Porat's study of how Israeli adolescents interpreted a textbook narrative has been an inspiration to the approach taken in this study. Porat's results show that

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[17] See Thomas Bender, 'Can National History Be De-Provincialized? U. S. History Textbook Controversies in the 1940s and 1990s', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 1, no. 1 (1 April 2009): 33–35; Harry Haue, 'Transformation of History Textbooks from National Monument to Global Agent', *Nordidactica: Journal of Humanities and Social Science Education*, no. 2013:1 (2013): 80–89; Henrik Åström Elmersjö, *Norden, nationen och historien: Perspektiv på föreningarna Nordens historieläroboksrevision 1919-1972* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2013), 148–51; Arja Virta, 'Finska kriget 1808-1809 i svenska och finska gymnasieböcker i historie', *Nordidactica - Journal of Humanities and Social Science Education*, no. 2012:1 (2012): 55–60.

[18] Danielsson Malmros, *Det var en gång ett land*, 279.

[19] Holmén, *Den politiska läroboken*, 324–25.

[25] Ibid., 282.

[26] See Carsten Heinze, 'Historical Textbook Research: Textbooks in the Context of the "Grammar of School-ing"', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 2, no. 2 (30 October 2010): 122–31.

[27] See Neveen Eid, 'The Inner Conflict: How Palestinian Students in Israel React to the Dual Narrative Ap- proach Concerning the Events of 1948', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 2, no. 1 (30 May 2010): 55–77; Dan A. Porat, 'It's Not Written Here, but This Is What Happened: Students' Cultural Compre- hension of Textbook Narratives on the Israeli-Arab Conflict', *American Educational Research Journal* 41, no. 4 (1 December 2004): 963–96.

[28] E.g. Danielsson Malmros, *Det var en gång ett land*; Annie Olsson, *Läroboken i historieundervisningen: En fallstudie med fokus på elever, lärare och läroboksförfattare*, Licentiatavhandlingar från forskarskolan historiska medier 7 (Umeå universitet, 2014); Amina Triki-Yamani, Marie McAndrew and Sahar El Shourbagi, 'Perceptions du traitement de l'islam et du monde musulman dans les manuels d'histoire par des enseignants du secondaire au Québec', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 3, no. 1 (30 April 2011): 97– 117.

textbook narratives are subordinate to the 'cultural views' of the adolescents that took part in his study. They interpreted the textbook quotation accord- ing to what their preconceptions on the historical event in question were.[29] Porat found that the cultural environment of his respondents played a cru- cial role in how they interpreted and remembered a textbook narrative.[30] These results suggest that studies of how textbook accounts are interpreted and used may complement analyses of the content of textbooks, and the present study should be seen as an attempt at analysing textbooks from the perspective of reception and use, and what influence these may have on how they are interpreted by active history teachers.

To summarise briefly, the research studied finds that textbooks generally seem to manifest one certain version and perspective of history and that textbook narratives are closed and one-dimensional, meaning that the narra-tives present a mono-perspectival rendering of history.[31] This is regarded as problematic since only one perspective of the past is made manifest and is reinforced through the textbook narratives.

Research on popular history magazines from the perspective of history di- dactics is not as wide and diverse as the research on textbooks, but shows some similarities. This research also has a focus on content[32] and it generally discusses deficits in the content of popular history magazines: it is too na- tionalistic, mono-perspectivistic, commercial or masculine in focus. Howev- er, there are some signs in research that indicate that history teachers may use popular history magazines as a source of inspiration and learning.[33]

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[29] Porat, 'It's Not Written Here, but This Is What Happened', 978. [30] Ibid., 991–92.

[31] See Eikeland, *Et laereverks bidrag til historiebevissthet og narrativ kompetanse*, 158; Foster and Burgess, 'Problematic Portrayals and Contentious Content'; Gaul, 'Where Are the Minorities?'; Ghosh, 'Identity, Poli- tics, and Nation-Building in History Textbooks in Bangladesh'; Nishino, 'Narrative Strategies Regarding Japanese Ethnic Origins and Cultural Identities in Japanese Middle-School History Textbooks'; Scott, 'The Perpetuation of War in U. S. History Textbooks'.

[32] E.g. Bodil Axelsson, 'History in Popular Magazines: Negotiating Masculinities, the Low of the Popular and the High of History', *Culture Unbound: Journal of Current Cultural Research*, no. 4 (2012): 275–95; Katja Gorbahn, 'Perpetrators, Victims, Heroes - the Second World War and National Socialism in Danish History Magazines', in *Commercialised History: Popular History Magazines in Europe*, ed. Susanne Popp, Jutta Schumann and Miriam Hannig, 1st ed. (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Publishing, 2015), 319–34; Susanne Popp, 'Popular History Magazines between Transmission of Knowledge and Entertainment - Some Theoreti- cal Remarks', in *Commercialised History: Popular History Magazines in Europe*, ed. Susanne Popp, Jutta Schumann and Miriam Hannig, 1st ed. (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Publishing, 2015), 42–69; Marianne Sjöland, *Historia i magasin: En studie av tidskriften Populär Historias historieskrivning och av kommersi- ellt historiebruk* (Lund: Lunds universitet, 2011); Marianne Sjöland, 'The Use of History in Popular History Magazines. A Theoretical Approach', in *Commercialised History: Popular History Magazines in Europe*, ed. Susanne Popp, Jutta Schumann and Miriam Hannig, 1st ed. (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Publishing, 2015), 223–37; Monika Vinterek, 'The Use of Powerful Men, Naked Women and War to Sell. Popular History Magazines in Sweden', in *Commercialised History: Popular History Magazines in Europe*, ed. Susanne Popp, Jutta Schumann and Miriam Hannig, 1st ed. (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Publishing, 2015), 295– 318.

[33] Terry Haydn, 'Using Popular History Magazines in History Teaching: A Case Study', in *Commercialised History: Popular History Magazines in Europe*, ed. Susanne Popp, Jutta Schumann and Miriam Hannig, 1st ed. (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Publishing, 2015), 354–70.

This research project seeks to position itself in between these positions. The content of history textbooks and popular history magazines is studied as artefacts of a certain historical culture (in the sense that it describes, in- cludes and excludes), and the reception of the content is studied in the con- text of how it is perceived by history teachers. Thus history textbooks and popular history magazines are studied from the perspective of practical use, both regarding their content and what it portrays, and also how that content is and may be perceived and interpreted by history teachers. Following this logic and inspired by research highlighting interpretive aspects of textbook studies,[34] the analyses carried out here rest on the assumption that individu- als' preconceptions and cognitive stance towards history affect how they interpret and understand narratives. In that sense, the content of the text- book and popular history magazine narratives can be regarded as subordi- nated to how individuals interpret their content. Furthermore, these narra- tives are always situated in a context, and this context also affects how its readers interpret and understand them. This is a perspective that I have striven to include in my analyses of the studied history textbooks and popu- lar history magazines.

History Teachers and History Teaching

The research on history teachers that I have deemed particularly relevant in the context of this study is research that has studied teachers as practitioners in history education and what history teachers think of history as a subject. Research focused on history teachers as practitioners has employed a variety of interviews and classroom observations. Its results aimed to describe and understand a certain teaching practice[35] and how to deal with a certain topic or issue in history education,[36] as well as describe and define what could be

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[34] See Ivar Bråten et al., 'The Role of Epistemic Beliefs in the Comprehension of Multiple Expository Texts: Toward an Integrated Model', *Educational Psychologist* 46, no. 1 (January 2011): 48–70; Porat, 'It's Not Written Here, but This Is What Happened'.

[35] See Martin Estenberg, *'Ett snäpp högre': En studie av historielärares hanterande av tankeredskap* (Karl- stad: Karlstads universitet, 2016); Jessica Jarhall, *En komplex historia: Lärares omformning, undervis- ningsmönster och strategier i historieundervisning på högstadiet* (Karlstad: Karlstads universitet, 2012);
David Hicks, 'Continuity and Constraint: Case Studies of Becoming a Teacher of History in England and the United States', *International Journal of Social Education* 20, no. 1 (2005): 18–40; Anna-Lena Lilliestam, *Aktör och struktur i historieundervisning: Om utveckling av elevers historiska resonerande* (Göteborg: Acta universitatis Gothoburgensis, 2013); Hans Olofsson, *Fatta historia: En explorativ fallstudie om historieun- dervisning och historiebruk i en högstadieklass* (Karlstad: Fakulteten för samhälls- och livsvetenskaper, Historia, Karlstads universitet, 2011); Joakim Wendell, *'Förklaringar är ju allt på nåt sätt': En undersökning av hur fem lärare använder historiska förklaringar i undervisningen* (Karlstad: Fakulteten för humaniora och samhällsvetenskap, Historia, Karlstads universitet, 2014).

[36] Bo Persson, *Mörkrets hjärta i klassrummet: Historieundervisning och elevers uppfatttningar om förin- telsen* (Lund: Lunds universitet, 2011); Ylva Wibaeus, *Att undervisa om det ofattbara: en ämnesdidaktisk studie om kunskapsområdet förintelsen i skolans historieundervisning* (Stockholm: Pedagogiska institution- en, Stockholms universitet, 2010).

perceived as a best practice when teaching history.[37] This research has also studied how history teachers perceive their subject and history education from the perspective of the curricular demands history teachers have to deal with in their teaching[38] or how history teachers or prospective history teach- ers perceive their subject.[39] Concerning teaching practices, findings have shown that there seems to be a low correspondence between history teach- ers' formal training in history and their teaching practices.[40] On the contrary it has been claimed that history teachers' ability to adapt their teaching strat-egies to their pupils and school as an institution seems more important than profound theoretical knowledge of history. English-American researcher David Hicks argues that the history teacher students he studied should be ready to renegotiate their views of what history is and why it should be taught, in order to avoid disappointment and frustration over pupils' lack of interest in and knowledge of history.[41] While history curricula in large parts of the Western world (including Sweden) portray history teaching as related to furthering disciplinary critical skills,[42] a number of studies have shown that history teachers and history teacher students still perceive history teach- ing in a content-related way and that disciplinary aspects of the subject playa subordinate role.[43]

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[37] E.g. Ahonen, 'History Education in Post-Conflict Societies'; Lilliestam, *Aktör och struktur i historieunder- visning*; Persson, *Mörkrets hjärta i klassrummet*.

[38] See Mikael Berg, *Historielärares ämnesförståelse: Centrala begrepp i historielärares förståelse av skolämnet historia*, Studier i de samhällsvetenskapliga ämnenas didaktik 22 (Karlstad: Karlstads universitet, 2014); Ismail Hakkı Demircioglu, 'Using Controversial Issues In History Lessons: Views Of Turkish History Teachers', *Kastamonu Egitim Dergisi* 24, no. 1 (January 2016): 147–62; Lozic, *I historiekanons skugga*; Thomas Nygren, 'Erfarna lärares historiedidaktiska insikter och undervisningsstrategier', 2009.

[39] See Bruce VanSledright and Kimberly Reddy, 'Changing Epistemic Beliefs? An Exploratory Study of Cogni- tion among Prospective History Teacher', *Tempo E Argumento* 6, no. 11 (27 May 2014): 28–68; Wansink et al., 'Epistemological Tensions in Prospective Dutch History Teachers′ Beliefs about the Objectives of Sec- ondary Education'; Paul Zanazanian and Sabrina Moisan, 'Harmonizing Two of History Teaching's Main Social Functions: Franco-Québécois History Teachers and Their Predispositions to Catering to Narrative Diversity', *Education Sciences* 2, no. 4 (10 December 2012): 255–75.

[40] Barton and Levstik, *Teaching History for the Common Good*, 251–52; Johan Hansson, *Historieintresse och historieundervisning: Elevers och lärares uppfattning om historieämnet* (Umeå: Umeå universitet, 2010), 149–50.

[41] Hicks, 'Continuity and Constraint'.

[42] Ahonen, 'History Education in Post-Conflict Societies', 76.

[43] See Orhan Akinoglu, 'Functions of History Education: History Teacher Trainees' Perspective', *Education* 129, no. 3 (Spring 2009): 464–65; Berg, *Historielärares ämnesförståelse*, 186–87; Hansson, *Historieintresse och historieundervisning*, 73–74; Richard Harris and Katharine Burn, 'English History Teachers' Views on What Substantive Content Young People Should Be Taught', *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 48, no. 4 (3 July 2016): 537–38; Jarhall, *En komplex historia*, 170–71; Anna-Lena Lilliestam, 'Nyblivna lärarstudenters syn på historia och historieundervisning', *Nordidactica: Journal of Humanities and Social Science Education*, no. 2015:4 (2015): 42; Lozic, *I historiekanons skugga*, 217–19; David Ludvigsson, 'Lärarstudenters relation till historieämnet', *Nordidactica: Journal of Humanities and Social Science Education*, no. 1 (2011): 48; Nygren, 'Erfarna lärares historiedidaktiska insikter och undervisningsstrategier', 81;

Rantala, 'How Finnish Adoles- cents Understand History'; Damira Umetbaeva, 'Paradoxes of Hegemonic Discourse in Post-Soviet Kyrgyz- stan: History Textbooks' and History Teachers' Attitudes toward the Soviet Past', *Central Asian Affairs* 2, no. 3 (29 May 2015): 300–301. Regarding how current research presents history teachers' perception of history as a subject, there are a number of interesting results. One is that teachers' conceptions of history may not be congruent with that of their pu- pils, and this is something history teachers have to be aware of since it affects how their pupils will perceive the subjects taught and their learning. This renders history education a rather complex enterprise since it forces teachers to take many different perspectives into account.[44] Canadian researcher Paul Zanazanian studied how French-speaking history teachers in Québec narrat- ed the history of Québec and what role the English-speaking minority of the province played in it.[45] Thus, his research was oriented towards how history teachers understand or regard history as a subject, and what role their per- sonal views of it played. He found that the teachers he studied displayed a tension between how they talked about the history of their own ethnic group and the more disciplinary aspects of history stressed in the history curricula of Québec. The teachers expressed concerns that the heritage of the French- Canadian population was neglected in the history curricula. According to Zanazanian this causes a tension since these teachers display an unwilling- ness to negotiate their own historical perspective, something he argues that a procedural approach to history requires.[46] Similar tensions have been noted in other research on teachers as well.[47]

Vincent Boutonnet, another Canadian researcher, studied the historical media history teachers in the Québec province of Canada use to teach histor- ical thinking skills and how they view these media. Boutonnet found that the teachers perceive textbooks to play a central role in how they teach and plan history, and that they use the textbooks as reference sources when teach- ing.[48] He further found that the teachers in his study tend not to use histori- cal media critically when teaching, but rather tend to use these narratives as a way of confirming the historical narrative presented in class by the teach- er.[49] In the teaching observed, Boutonnet found that the teachers relied on historical media in a similar manner. Textbooks and other media were stud- ied as sources of information and were only critically scrutinised on rare

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[44] See Hansson, *Historieintresse och historieundervisning*, 126; Lilliestam, *Aktör och struktur i historieun- dervisning*, 210–12; Olofsson, *Fatta historia*, 215.

[45] Paul Zanazanian, 'Historical Consciousness and the Structuring of Group Boundaries: A Look at Two Francophone School History Teachers Regarding Quebec's Anglophone Minority', *Curriculum Inquiry* 42, no. 2 (1 March 2012): 222.

[46] Ibid., 234–35.

[47] Zvi Bekerman and Michalinos Zembylas, 'Fearful Symmetry: Palestinian and Jewish Teachers Confront Contested Narratives in Integrated Bilingual Education', *Teaching and Teacher Education* 26, no. 3 (April 2010): 507–15; Umetbaeva, 'Paradoxes of Hegemonic Discourse in Post-Soviet Kyrgyzstan'.

[48] Vincent Boutonnet, *Les ressources didactiques: Typologie d'usages en lien avec la méthode historique et l'intervention éducative d'enseignants d'histoire au secondaire* (Montréal: Université de Montréal, 2013), 155–57.

[49] Ibid., 166.

occasions.[50] Interestingly, this relates to what is perceived to be the domi- nant historical culture in Québec regarding history teaching. According to Boutonnet, in the public debate about history in schools in Québec, there is a strong voice that is critical towards a history education oriented towards skills, and instead favours teaching focused on a certain historical content.[51] Thus, Zanazanian's and Boutonnet's results show that a broader societal historical culture may impact how history teachers perceive and approach history and how they teach it in school. Together with the perspective of how teachers need to negotiate their teaching objectives with the conceptions of history of their pupils, this research highlights the complex and contextually contingent character of history education that stresses teachers' conceptions of history and history education as central to how they view history and im- plement it in a teaching situation.

The present research project uses an approach similar to the ones de- scribed, but I have explicitly tried to relate history teaching to the broader notion of historical culture. I have analysed how lower secondary school history teachers' uses of history are constituted when they interpret a text- book quotation relating the outbreak of the Cold War, talk of their personal experience of growing up during the Cold War, and teach it to their pupils. With this analysis, I have tried to study how teachers relate to history in con- texts that are relevant to history education both concerning the history they choose to disseminate and also how they choose to disseminate this history.

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50 Ibid., 178–79.
51 Ibid., 174–75.

Theoretical Framework

Ontological and Epistemological Assumptions

The ontological approach in this study applies as a basic assumption that anything we can know of the world has to be communicated through lan- guage, i.e. the world can only be known through our conceptualisation and communication of it.[52] In empirical research this means that the distinction between ontology and epistemology collapses since what we are engaging with is not the world as such, but rather our conceptions of the world. Thus, the purely ontological question of what the world is can be argued to be of less importance than the purely epistemological question of what can we know the world to be and how can we assert that knowledge. Indeed, as has been argued by Karl Popper and others, truth and the world in itself is a ra- ther uninteresting matter in scientific research (the world is what it is, so to speak). The crucial question is how, in scientific research, we can come to approximate the world in our representations of it.[53] In other words, what I perceive distinguishes science from other knowledge practices is that it en- gages with methodological inquiry in a scientific context. It is not our postu- lations about matters in the world that are central *per se*, but rather how we went about reaching these postulations, and this directs us towards episte- mological problems rather than ontological ones.

For these reasons, what will be outlined below does not relate to the world as such in the strictly ontological sense, but to our perception, interpretation, knowledge and communication of it. The emphasis in the presentation below is placed on representational and interpretational aspects of how we come to know the world. This section has been divided into two sub-sections. 'Repre- sentation' tries to specify the basic theoretical assumptions about the world, and our experiences and knowledge thereof, which underlie the present study. Secondly, the sub-section called 'Interpretation' seeks to clarify how I consider that we may come to know something of the world.

Representation

Following the approach outlined, questions of what the world is should be understood as related to questions of our representations of what the world is in the context of this study. British philosopher Michael Dummett has stated that "what we cannot think we cannot think, and what we cannot think we cannot say"[54] meaning that our representations of the world are contingent on our perceptions of it. This could also be interpreted as saying

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[52] See Michael Dummett, *Thought and Reality* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 2–3, 14.
[53] Karl R. Popper, *Conjectures and Refutations: The Growth of Scientific Knowledge*, 3. ed., (rev.). (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1989), 222–26.
[54] Dummett, *Thought and Reality*, 24.

that our perceptions of the world are contingent on our preconceptions of it: to make sense of something (which could be argued to be a basic require- ment for making intelligible representations of that something) it has to fit our basic views of what the world is and how it functions.

Thus, what we have at the most basic level are various phenomena that appear to us, and that we experience. These phenomena are then represent- ed by us through our use of language, both when making sense of something to ourselves and to others. From an ontological perspective this means that our experiences of the world and representations of it are always mediated through language, and thus contingent on our use of language. This does not mean that knowledge of the world becomes impossible, but rather that this is the only means by which we can access the world and talk about it.

Interpretation

If we proceed along this line of reasoning, interpretation could be argued to become a fundamental practice when doing science: we experience phenom- ena, we represent them, we interpret their meaning, and then we represent that meaning to ourselves and to others.[55] Since our experiences and repre- sentations of the world have been argued to be contingent on our preconcep- tions of the world, a scientific interpretive practice has to deal with these contingencies by making them explicit and engaging with their relevance for how we represent and know the world. Thus, a hermeneutic practice be- comes essential for gaining access to and knowledge of the world. German philosopher Hans-Georg Gadamer stated that the aim of hermeneutics is to clarify the wonder of understanding not as a secretive communication, but as a co-operation in mutual meaning-making between individuals. Interpreta- tion should seek to acknowledge and engage with the influence of the con- temporary world and prejudices of the interpreting subject in order to gain validity.[56] This could be understood as arguing for the importance of the *practice of interpretation*, rather than the interpretation itself. When doing science we endeavour to make our theoretical and methodological approach- es (i.e. our interpretative practices) seem valid and relevant.[57] It matters little how original or thought-provoking our interpretations are if they do not rest on a solid transparent methodological foundation.

From this viewpoint, knowledge and understanding become holistic en- deavours: we need to take the full context of what we study and how we study it into account. Furthermore, it is in the hermeneutic and dialectical

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[55] It should be noted that I view representation as both a conscious and unconscious activity (we have to represent things in order to experience them), whereas interpretation is regarded as an active process in which we engage with our and others' representations.

[56] Hans-Georg Gadamer, 'Om förståelsens cirkel', in *Filosofiska strömningar efter 1950*, ed. Konrad Marc-Wogau, Filosofin genom tiderna 5 (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers bokförlag, 1981), 327–28.

[57] See Tyson Retz, 'A Moderate Hermeneutical Approach to Empathy in History Education', *Educational Philosophy and Theory* 47, no. 3 (23 February 2015): 218–20.

engagement with what we study that we can reach a scientifically valid inter- pretation, not by applying a certain methodology or theory in analysis. This means that we need to argue the relevance and soundness of the theoretical and methodological approaches we use when doing science.[58] Ideally, we should strive towards a kind of hermeneutical openness using the dialectic method in text analysis.[59] Gadamer claimed that when we interpret we pro- ject our preconceptions and understanding onto what we are interpreting. This means that the interpreter should always try to make their presump- tions or prejudices explicit when studying texts, and then strive to engage with these presumptions in order to take the full context of the text into ac- count.[60] An interpreter that does not engage in this kind of dialectic method runs the risk of letting their arbitrary prejudices affect the meaning, knowledge and understanding that is derived from a certain account.[61] Hence, the context in which knowledge is derived becomes an important aspect of scientific research since all postulations of the world are contextu- ally contingent. This line of argumentation also has repercussions for how we approach and understand the notions of truth and knowledge.

Truth and Knowledge

If one holds context to be an important aspect in how we come to know the world, any epistemological theory of truth and knowledge has to take this into account. Such a view is afforded by the theoretical position called epis- temological contextualism. According to this position the truth-value of all postulations is contingent on the context in which they are derived or stated,

i.e. in normal conversation we have certain standards for what qualifies as a true statement and in science we apply other more strict standards as to what counts as a true statement.[62] As an example, in most Swedish history textbooks you will find a statement saying something to the effect of "Gustav Vasa was the king of Sweden between 1523 and 1560" and most people in Sweden would hold that statement to be true. If the same statement would, however, be said at a seminar on early Modern Swedish history it could be considered to be problematic. For instance, Sweden as we know it today did not exist in 1523. Sweden was in a royal union with Denmark at the time and legally the Danish king was still the head of state in Sweden for some years

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[58] See Dagfinn Föllesdal, Lars Wallöe and Jon Elster, *Argumentasjonsteori, språk og vitenskapsfilosofi*, 5th ed. (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1992), 97–100; Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 2nd ed. (New York: Continuum, 2006), 271.

[59] Per-Johan Ödman, *Tolkning, förståelse, vetande: Hermeneutik i teori och praktik* (Stockholm: Norstedts akademiska förlag, 2007), 25–30.

[60] Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 266–67.

[61] Ibid., 269.

[62] See Michael Blome-Tillmann, *Knowledge and Presuppositions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 11; Alexander Dinges, 'Epistemic Contextualism Can Be Stated Properly', *Synthese* 191, no. 15 (29 April 2014): 3541–56.

after 1523. What this example shows is that one statement can be considered as true in one context and not in another. What happens is not that the statement changes, but rather the contexts in which it is made. Differing standards result in different ways of interpreting the *meaning* of the statement and, thus, its truth-value.[63] This means that we need to pay close atten-tion to context and use when analysing meaning and truth in empirical sources, such as historical narratives in textbooks, popular history magazines and narratives elicited from interviews. It is within the context of the prac- tices that these accounts acquire meaning. Furthermore, as a researcher it is important to acknowledge and engage with how you approach a study and strive to make your theoretical and methodological assumptions explicit since they will be relevant to how your research can be understood and as- sessed.

This line of reasoning points towards a position resembling what can be called inter-subjective verifiability or criticisability; a position arguing that scientific knowledge should be able to be criticised and reproduced by oth- ers.[64] From this viewpoint, due to contextual constraints within the research community, researchers need to explain how they went about getting the knowledge they possess, i.e. to explain the theoretical assumptions and/or methodologies they have used in order to render their research inter- subjectively acceptable. If a researcher fails to do this we are likely to disre- gard the results of his or her research no matter what they are. In order to enhance inter-subjective verifiability or criticisability it is important to strive for clarity in the theoretical approach and concepts we use and the results we get from using this approach. If we use concepts that are not specified in detail in our research (or elsewhere) it may be difficult to assess what we mean by what we say, and the results of our studies (i.e. our knowledge) cannot be assessed.[65] In this sense there is a social aspect to knowledge and its production: what is knowledge is determined by the context in which it is perceived or conceived, and what is acceptable knowledge production (or science) is also contextually contingent. This does not mean that anything goes, but rather that we have to pay close attention to the context in which pieces of knowledge were created to determine the value of them, since that is where these pieces of knowledge acquire meaning and truth-value, accord-ing to the view presented here.[66]

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[63] See Lars Bergström, 'Relativism', *Filosofisk tidskrift*, no. 1 (1998): 16–37.
[64] See Björn Badersten, *Normativ metod: Att studera det önskvärda* (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2006), 74–79; Lars Bergström, *Objektivitet: En undersökning av Innebörden, möjligheten och önskvärdheten av objektivi- tet i samhällsvetenskapen*, 2nd ed. (Stockholm: Thales, 1987), 60–65.
[65] See Sven Ove Hansson, *Verktygslära för filosofer* (Stockholm: Thales, 2010), 124–25.
[66] See Sievers, 'Toward a Direct Realist Account of Observation'.

Experience and Cognition

If we regard context and contingency as key to understanding and knowledge, then how we can understand how humans experience and come to know the world becomes crucial. In the following sub-section I aim to specify how I understand the basic notions of consciousness, narrative and narration to be related to this in the context of this study.

Fundamentally, consciousness plays a crucial role in how human beings experience the world: some kind of awareness seems to be a pre-requisite forus to experience matters. Nonetheless, consciousness is primarily of interest as a function in an individual presently, i.e. consciousness should not be reduced to mere sensory loci or parts of the brain. Through our conscious- ness we become aware of phenomena, and consequently, the sensory loci or the phenomena that appear in our consciousnesses are subordinate to this function of our consciousness, and without this function there would be nothing of which to speak, there would be no experiences.[67] Consciousness should thus primarily be understood as a function and not a physiological or mental entity. However, according to the view presented here, in order for usto experience something we need to be able to conceptualise it, and this is done when we apply linguistic notions and concepts and narrate what we perceive.

There are many propositions for how the notion *narrative* should be un- derstood: it could be understood as any kind of utterance without any specif- ic order,[68] as requiring emplotment (as opposed to chronicles, annals and stories)[69] and as containing normative elements,[70] to name a few. In the present study I am mostly interested in narratives from a communicative perspective. When we try to make sense of our experiences to ourselves, and when we try to disseminate these same experiences to other people, we do that by narrating them or putting them into the narrative form. This does notmean that I claim that narratives constitute reality, but rather that they con- stitute our perception of reality; human reality is essentially a linguistic reali-ty.[71] Hence, my focus is on the function of narratives, rather than their lin- guistic properties. Thus, in order to cover as many means of dissemination as possible, I use the notion of narrative in a very broad or loose sense: it can take any form and its forms can vary indefinitely. The key aspect here is that narration should be perceived as the foundation of how we can intelligibly

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[67] Ran Lahav, 'What Neuropsychology Tells Us About Consciousness', *Philosophy of Science* 60, no. 1 (1993): 79.

[68] E.g. Marya Schechtman, *The Constitution of Selves* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2007), 95–99.

[69] E.g. Barbara Czarniawska, *Narratives in Social Science Research*, 1 edition (SAGE Publications Ltd, 2004), 17–24.

[70] E.g. Charlotte Linde, *Life Stories: The Creation of Coherence* (Oxford University Press, 1993), 84–85.

[71] Ödman, *Tolkning, Förståelse, Vetande*, 47.

experience and understand the world, i.e. it is central to human epistemolo- gy.[72]

It is also important to underline that emplotment or normative evaluation in narratives can occur at different levels since speech units or text units that do not have emplotment at what may be called a 'micro-level' (e.g. on the surface of the text), can be emplotted at a more abstract level or 'macro-level' (e.g. regarding the context of the text). We can, for instance, ascribe narra- tives emplotment or normative qualities at a macro-level, in order to render them meaningful. Another important aspect of narratives is that they can be ascribed different qualities depending on the context in which they are ana- lysed. Additionally, a narrative that seems to have no emplotment in one context could be regarded as having that in another. Thus, qualities we as- cribe to narratives are contextually contingent. This contextual contingency is another reason why I have chosen to approach the notion of narrative in a broad or loose sense. Furthermore, the notion of narrative could be argued to play a significant role in history: in order for history to be disseminated, it has to be put into narrative form. This may not necessarily mean that all history should be perceived as narrative and plot-driven as has been implied by some[73], but rather that history has to be narrated in order to be commu- nicated.[74]

History Didactical Assumptions

History Didactics

The preceding section argued that history has to be put into narrative form in order for it to be disseminated. Furthermore, and taking the lead of Gad- amer, whenever we interpret or represent anything we project our precon- ceptions and prior understanding onto that something that we are trying to make sense of. This line of reasoning stresses what has been called the im- portance of the genealogical perspective in history: whenever we approach history we do so from our contemporary point of view.[75] Accordingly, all historical sources, pieces of information or accounts have to be experienced and interpreted in order to make sense. This act of experience and interpre- tation always takes place within an individual that has a certain understand- ing of themself and the world, irrespective of whether they are an academic historian or a casual student of history. This is also the perspective that

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[72] See Robert Thorp, *Historical Consciousness, Historical Media, and History Education*, Licentiate Theses from the Historical Media Postgraduate School 5 (Umeå: Umeå universitet, 2014), 10–11.

[73] E.g. Hayden White, *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* (JHU Press, 2009).

[74] See David Carr, *Time, Narrative, and History*, Northwestern University Studies in Phenomenology & Existential Philosophy, 0550-0060 (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1986), 25–29.

[75] Klas-Göran Karlsson, *Europeiska möten med historien. Historiekulturella perspektiv på andra världskri- get, förintelsen och den kommunistiska terrorn.*, 1st ed. (Stockholm: Atlantis, 2010), 27–30.

makes history didactics a crucial aspect of all production and dissemination of history. Generally, history didactics could be defined as pertaining to what history we convey, why we convey it and how we convey it within a certain context.[76] The history didactical perspective does not focus on history pri- marily, but rather on how history is portrayed, interpreted and used in con- temporary society, i.e. what can be called the cultural or sociological aspects of history.[77] This means that all encounters with history take place in a spe- cific context and this context is essential for how we choose to approach his- tory. For these reasons how we approach and use history becomes essential in history didactics and it also becomes the point of departure for all re- search that is history didactical in character.[78]

Memory and Remembering

If our preconceptions and prior understanding play an important role in how we choose to approach history, memory could be argued to be a central no- tion in this.[79] The view of memory and remembering applied here regards memory not as a passive entity that merely registers what individuals experi- ence, but rather as something active that is constructed by individuals ac- cording to the conceptions they have of the world through the act of remem- bering.[80] American researcher James E. Young has claimed that "memory is never seamless, but always a montage of collected fragments, recomposed by each person and generation"[81] and with an approach akin to this, memory indeed becomes a practice that is enacted by individuals over and over again. Consequently, it is dependent on the memory constitution or pattern of the experiencing individual: memories are constituted and constructed by the act of remembering. Furthermore, human beings are social beings and our memories are affected by the social environment we grow up in, meaning that we never construct memories in isolation but always within social con- texts.[82]

Thus, memory and remembering can be understood as complex notions. Further, as has been noted in research, individuals are often subjected to and proprietors of many different memories and acts of remembrance since

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[76] See Jeismann, 'Geschichtsbewußtsein - Theorie', 42. [77] Nordgren, *Vems är historien?*, 14.

[78] Per Eliasson et al., 'Inledning', in *Historia på väg mot framtiden: Historiedidaktiska perspektiv på skola och samhälle*, ed. Per Eliasson et al. (Lund: Lunds universitet, 2010), 9–10.

[79] See Pierre Nora, 'Between Memory and History: Les lieux de mémoire', *Representations*, no. 26 (1989): 7–24. Although I am sceptical of Nora's distinction between 'direct traditional memory' and 'indirect modern memory,' I am sympathetic to his general discussion on the relationship between memory and history.

[80] See Schechtman, *The Constitution of Selves*, 124–25.

[81] James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (New Haven: Yale Universi- ty Press, 1993), 198.

[82] See Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 37–40; Mihai Stelian Rusu, 'History and Collective Memory: The Succeeding Incarnations of an Evolving Relation- ship', *Philobiblon* XVIII, no. 2 (2013): 261.

memories are created by individuals, but at the same time these memories are socially, culturally and linguistically contingent, and therefore affected bythe context in which they are conceived and disseminated.[83] They are always located within a historical culture.

Generally, memory is perceived to be something rather distinct from his- tory: where memory is claimed to be fragmentary, subjective, arbitrary and unreliable, history is characterised by a critical methodological inquiry.[84] From a history didactical perspective, however, it could be argued that it is difficult to separate memory from history analytically since we always ap- proach history with preconceptions of what it is, i.e. we have memories that affect our perceptions of things. Indeed, these memories can be revised, changed or deleted through a serious study of history, but we nevertheless carry them with us.[85] This is because we are born into historical cultures – ways of making sense of the past that are culturally embedded in our social environments both implicitly and explicitly.

The Present Perspective on History

French philosopher Roland Barthes once likened the role of historians to that of organisers: instead of merely collecting and compiling historical facts, they purposefully organise them to establish meaning and sense.[86] Thus, historians are regarded not as passive collectors of historical facts, but rather as active participants in the creation of history. When historians write histo- ry they do so with a purpose and they do so within a community of research that affects what is perceived to be legitimate historical inquiries and meth- ods of inquiry.[87] Furthermore, historians are human beings with passions, interests, memories and preconceptions, and these could be argued to play a central role in the kind of research they choose to engage in. Instead of tak- ing this as an argument as to why historical research should be labelled rela- tivist or subjectivist (and therefore scientifically unappealing), this should be understood as quite the opposite. It is through acknowledging and making explicit the subjective, interpretational and representational practices that go into doing historical research, that historical accounts acquire truth-value.[88] It is when we are able to assess historical research according to theoretical,

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[83] See Gregor Feindt et al., 'Entangled Memory: Toward a Third Wave in Memory Studies', *History and Theory* 53, no. 1 (1 February 2014): 31–35.

[84] See Stéphane Lévesque, *Thinking Historically: Educating Students for the Twenty-First Century* (Toron- to: Buffalo, 2008), 7–9.

[85] See Rusu, 'History and Collective Memory: The Succeeding Incarnations of an Evolving Relationship', 262–64.

[86] Roland Barthes, 'The Discourse of History', in *The Postmodern History Reader*, ed. Keith Jenkins (New York: Routledge, 2001), 121.

[87] See Avner Segall, 'Critical History: Implications for History/Social Studies Education', *Theory & Research in Social Education* 27, no. 3 (1 June 1999): 364.

[88] See Robert J. Parkes, 'No Outside History: Reconsidering Postmodernism', *Agora (Sungraphô)* 49, no. 3 (2014): 8.

methodological and (if you like) logical standards that we are able to con- clude anything about the quality of the historical research we are presented with.[89] This is also what I believe distinguishes history from memory.

While both memory and history can be said to be contextually contingent according to this logic, we normally have differing criteria for what holds to be valid and true in terms of memories and historical narratives. For a his- torical narrative to be accepted as true in the historical research community, a basic requirement is that it is guided by a methodological inquiry that is transparent, relevant and logical. Hence it is through its reliance on critical methodological inquiry that history gains its scientific value.[90] This is also what makes the history didactical perspective crucial when it comes to histo- ry and historical research since history didactics stress the cultural and con- textual aspects of history. According to history didactics, all history is con- ceived for a purpose and how we understand history is contingent on who we are and what preconceptions we have of history.[91] In this sense it could be argued that all historical inquiries make use of history for various purposes.

Furthermore, if we apply a hermeneutic approach to history, history must include an assessment of the uses inherent in history, or the representational practices that go into disseminating something historical. Otherwise we run the risk of making arbitrary representations of history that would not meet the basic criteria for historical research stipulated here. Once again, this does not imply that historical knowledge becomes impossible, but rather that historical knowledge requires being specific about context, both that of the historical agent or source, and that of the person doing the interpretation.[92]

Historical Narratives

If everything we experience has to be put into narrative form, then this also has to apply to history. There are many suggestions for how we should ap- proach historical narratives,[93] but the one applied here was developed by German theorist of history Jörn Rüsen. According to Rüsen there are four different types of historical narratives: (i) the *traditional* narrative seeks to uphold tradition and argue continuity or status-quo, (ii) the *exemplary* nar- rative strives to derive rules of conduct from history in order to guide present action, (iii) the *critical* narrative is used to criticise historical or contempo- rary phenomena or show alternative ways of acting, and (iv) the *genetic* nar- rative attempts to show how continuity and change is what characterises

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[89] See Anders Berge, *Att begripa det förflutna: Förklaring, klassificering, kolligation inom historieveten- skapen* (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 1995), 9–12.

[90] See Rolf Torstendahl, *Introduktion till historieforskningen: Historia som vetenskap*, 2nd ed. (Stockholm: Natur och kultur, 1971), 56.

[91] See Parkes, *Interrupting History*, 119–20.

[92] Ibid., 6–15.

[93] See Eileen H. Tamura, 'Narrative History and Theory', *History of Education Quarterly* 51, no. 2 (May 2011): 151–52.

history.[94] Although these four kinds of narratives always intermingle and co- exist they depend on different ways of understanding and approaching histo-ry, according to Rüsen. The traditional and exemplary narratives regard his- tory as static: the historical narrative is used to keep things the way they are, or to show why they should stay the way they are. From an epistemic perspective, this could be argued to indicate a view of history that is non- disciplinary and non-contingent. If the historical narrative is used to uphold tradition or argue normative values, it is regarded as something that is static and given, i.e. not a result of interpretation and representation. A critical narrative is different in the sense that it does not try to uphold something but disrupt it. However, cognitively it could be argued to be similar to the previous historical narratives since the historical narrative is used as a kind of conversation stopper: 'You are wrong because this historical example shows that something contrary to your beliefs is actually the case.' Once again, the historical example is treated as something impervious to change and interpretation. The genetic narrative could, however, be perceived to be cognitively different from the others and here the historical example is used not as a conversation stopper, but rather as a conversation opener. History is treated as contingent on interpretation and representation, i.e. it is contex- tually contingent. Hence, the historical narrative is perceived as dynamic and open to change depending on perspectives applied and questions asked to it. Historical facts, events and categories are not given as final, but rather de- pend on who you are, what you consider to be historically significant and what questions you ask.[95] How you view historical knowledge is pertinent to how you perceive and approach history.

Historical Knowledge and Understanding

If we proceed with a Gadamerian perspective of sense-making, we come to a particular notion of how historical knowledge and understanding are made possible. The key aspect here is the extent to which the individual engages with the historicity, not only of the historical accounts they are confronted with, but also of their own preconceptions and prejudices.[96] According to this view, understanding and knowledge is always formed in the relationship between past and present horizons, and it is through an awareness and acknowledgement of the interplay and relationship between these two hori- zons that historical knowledge is obtained. Accordingly, it is essential that we understand how important the historical agent's temporal and spatial con- text was for their understanding of the world, and how important our own temporal and spatial context is for our approach to and understanding of

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[94] Jörn Rüsen, 'Tradition: A Principle of Historical Sense-Generation and Its Logic and Effect in Historical Culture', *History and Theory* 51, no. 4 (2012): 52.
[95] Ibid., 52–55.
[96] See Retz, 'A Moderate Hermeneutical Approach to Empathy in History Education', 224.

history, i.e. that history is characterised by both genetic *and* genealogical perspectives and thus always contemporary and contextually contingent.[97]

According to this view, the level of contextualisation that an individual can apply to history is pertinent to their epistemic attitudes towards knowledge,
i.e. their attitudes to the character and nature of historical accounts. In other words, the level of contextualisation is relevant to their historical under- standing. Individuals that display no awareness of the representational prac- tices of history have no means of treating contradictory accounts of history other than rejecting them or accepting them, since they lack a method for analysing historical narratives from the historically relevant perspectives.[98] With an understanding of the contextually contingent character of history, a *historiographic gaze*, to borrow Australian historian Robert Parkes' term, that engages with the contingency and historicity of all perspectives (includ- ing your own one),[99] it becomes possible for an individual to assess and ana- lyse different accounts of history in a complex manner, and we also have a method for ascertaining the value of the historical piece of information at hand. Few historians would use sources that have no provenance regarding their origin, i.e. knowledge about the context of the source, and few histori- ans would accept historical narratives that do not comply with the theoreti- cal and methodological requirements that the discipline enforces.[100] As soon as we apply historical methodology to claims of historical knowledge that do not incorporate a contextual analysis, they become examples of mythology or fantasy rather than knowledge.[101] This stresses the need for an awareness of the *cultural* aspects of historical research and history, i.e. that all history is culturally contingent – it belongs to a historical culture.

Historical Culture

Historical culture is a concept that deals with the relationship to history that individuals, groups of people, institutions and societies may have. It deals with how history is disseminated and how knowledge, attitudes and values

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[97] See Per Eliasson, 'Kan ett historiemedvetande fördjupas?', in *Historien är nu: En introduktion till histori- edidaktiken*, ed. Klas-Göran Karlsson and Ulf Zander (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2009), 317, 325; Sam Wine- burg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts: Charting the Future of Teaching the Past* (Philadelph- ia: Temple University Press, 2001), 18–24.

[98] See VanSledright and Reddy, 'Changing Epistemic Beliefs?', 32–36.

[99] See Parkes, *Interrupting History*, 120.

[100] Cecilia Axelsson, 'Att hantera källor - på gymnasienivå.', in *Kritiska perspektiv på historiedidaktiken*, ed. David Ludvigsson, Aktuellt om historia, 2013:2 (Eksjö: Historielärarnas förening, 2013), 72; Bråten et al.,
'The Role of Epistemic Beliefs in the Comprehension of Multiple Expository Texts', 54–55; Peter Lee and Rosalynn Ashby, 'Progression in Historical Understanding among Students Ages 7-14', in *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History: National and International Perspectives*, ed. Peter N. Stearns, Peter Seixas and Sam Wineburg (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 204–12.

[101] See Knut Kjeldstadli, *Det förflutna är inte vad det en gång var* (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 1998), 44–55; Quentin Skinner, 'Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas', *History and Theory* 8, no. 1 (1 Janu- ary 1969): 6–7.

about history provide individuals with meaning.[102] Hence it is a concept that can be applied at both a general, or collective, level and a less general indi- vidual level. It is within a historical culture that individuals' encounters with history occur and where the conditions for these encounters are estab- lished.[103] In this sense, a historical culture can be argued to affect the relations individuals, groups of people and institutions have to history firstly, since it is already present when a certain individual enters a social environ- ment and secondly, since most history, per definition, cannot be experienced first hand by individuals, it is rather experienced through historical accounts that are disseminated in speech, writing or through customs and cultural habits. Thus it could be argued that individuals never encounter history na- kedly but always through a cultural or social environment. We are affected by what families, friends, schools, the media and governments (et cetera) say about history.[104] A historical culture can, in this way, be perceived as a gen- re[105] or coherence system that renders certain things historically significant and meaningful and others meaningless and irrelevant.[106]

Furthermore, it is important to stress that historical culture is rarely, if ever, monolithic. Although certain perceptions of history may be dominantin a given social environment, there can be varying, sometimes opposing, historical cultures in a society. This can be due to social, economic, profes- sional, political, ethnical, religious or other reasons. Therefore, historical cultures are dynamic and can change over time; they can be seen as both structure and process at the same time.[107]

Moreover, we are not determined by the historical culture that surrounds us: through our relationship to history we can change a historical culture. We can choose to assert a certain historical culture, or we can choose to criticise it. Why we do so depends on how we regard history substantively and epis- temically. This means that we may have an opposing view of what history contains and what should count as historically significant (this is what I mean with substantively). Alternatively, we could have an epistemic view of historical narratives as contextually contingent and for this reason be more cautious in asserting a certain historical culture as the only legitimate or possible one (this is what I mean with epistemically).[108] From this viewpoint, there is a kind of doubleness regarding historical culture in the sense that it

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[102] See Erik Sjöberg, *Battlefields of Memory: The Macedonian Conflict and Greek Historical Culture*, Umeå Studies in History and Education 6 (Umeå: Umeå universitet, 2011), 8.
[103] See Karlsson, *Europeiska möten med historien*, 76.
[104] See Jukka Rantala, 'Children as Consumers of Historical Culture in Finland', *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 43, no. 4 (August 2011): 494–95.
[105] See Charles L. Briggs and Richard Bauman, 'Genre, Intertextuality, and Social Power', *Journal of Linguis- tic Anthropology* 2, no. 2 (1992): 143.
[106] See Peter Aronsson, *Historiebruk: Att använda det förflutna* (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2004), 86–87. [107] See Sjöberg, *Battlefields of Memory: The Macedonian Conflict and Greek Historical Culture*, 9–10. [108] See Rüsen, 'Tradition', 57–58.

enables us an access to history (and thus limits what we can experience, think, or know about it) while we can also uphold and change historical cul- ture through how we interact with it, through how we make use of history.

Uses of History

History can be used in different ways in different societies at different times and we manifest our historical consciousnesses and historical cultures through our uses of history.[109] The notion of uses of history is generally de- fined as a use where conceptions of the past that emanate from a historical culture in different ways are used to create meaning, orientate in the present and influence the future.[110] Given the theoretical approach taken here, I have chosen to specify this use as narrative enactments of the past. Thus uses of history can be defined as narrative enactments of the past that are applied to create meaning, orientate in the present and influence the future.

In 1874 German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche published a text in which he criticised what he perceived to be the contemporary obsession with histo- ry. He saw a danger in the heavy reliance on history and argued that we need a mixture of both past and present, memory and oblivion. According to Nie- tzsche there was a great risk in studying history for the sake of history: if we do so we might lose ourselves in the historical maze, and, more importantly, history will become meaningless to us. It will just become an exercise in facts and figures that has no practical use in everyday life. What Nietzsche pro- posed instead was that history needs to have a practical use (a use of history) in order to be meaningful to us.[111] Nietzsche discerned three ways of using history, all of them with benefits and drawbacks. The *monumental* use of history is positive because it will remind us of past heroes and great deeds and can thus be a good guidance for us in life. On the other hand, he argued, history never repeats itself and if we rely too heavily on the monumental use of history we will fail to realise that history, society and people change.[112] The *antiquarian* use of history is valuable since it helps us keep traditions alive, but it can also make us overly nostalgic, backward and appreciative of past times.[113] The *critical* use of history is useful since everything in history needs to be assessed, according to Nietzsche, but a single-handedly critical orienta- tion can be adverse since people adhering to it could fail to realise that we are all part of a tradition we cannot dissociate ourselves from, no matter how

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[109] See Karlsson, 'Historia, historiedidaktik och historiekultur - teori och perspektiv', 72.
[110] See Per Eliasson et al., '"Det är smart att använda historia i nya händelser..." Historiebruk i skola och samhälle', in *Historiedidaktik i Norden 9*, ed. Per Eliasson et al. (Malmö; Halmstad: Malmö högskola; Högs- kolan i Halmstad, 2012), 262.
[111] Friedrich Nietzsche, *Om historiens nytta och skada: En otidsenlig betraktelse* (Stockholm: Rabén Prisma, 1998), 38–39.
[112] Ibid., 42–50.
[113] Ibid., 51–56.

painful or unfashionable it may be. We always need to relate to it.[114] Fur- thermore, historical research is not the place to look for answers since it cannot show why history matters to us or should matter to us; that can only be answered by what practical use history has in our contemporary lives.[115]

In a Swedish context the concept of uses of history has become central during the last couple of decades, both in history didactical research and in Swedish history curricula. Swedish historian Klas-Göran Karlsson was the first to introduce the concept in research in Sweden. When studying how history was used in Russia after the collapse of communism, he found that history indeed played an integral part not only regarding how people came to understand their society, but also themselves and people around them. This is because history plays a crucial role in our lives.[116] Through using history people seek to orientate themselves in the world and create meaning in both their personal lives and the world around them. Klas-Göran Karlsson has attempted to typify different kinds of uses of history that we employ when we approach the past. All these uses of history stem from a certain need or in- terest among individuals or institutions to make sense of the past or present and influence the future. Put another way, whenever we feel a certain need or interest we use history to satisfy that need or interest – history is used with a certain goal or agenda in mind. According to the latest version of Karlsson's typology, history can be used to satisfy needs in the following ways:

- Scientifically – to obtain and construct new knowledge through an analytical and methodological approach;
- Politico-pedagogically – to illustrate, make public, and create de- bate;
- Morally – to rediscover and show historical wrong-doings and shortcomings;
- Ideologically – to justify and/or argue something, to make sense of the past;
- Existentially – to remember, create meaning in life, and build identities;
- A non-use – to cover up, conceal, or try to make some historical events, persons or periods fall into public neglect.[117]

Similar to Nietzsche, one aim of Karlsson's typology is to show that history can be used for a number of reasons and that the scientific use of history

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114 Ibid., 57–59.
115 Ibid., 92–98.
116 Klas-Göran Karlsson, *Historia som vapen: Historiebruk och Sovjetunionens upplösning 1985-1995* (Stockholm: Natur och kultur, 1999), 50–53.
117 Karlsson, 'Historia, Historiedidaktik och historiekultur - teori och perspektiv', 73–78.

(that is supposedly regarded as the only legitimate one by the historical re- search community[118]) is merely one of many. In that sense one could say that Karlsson's typology tries to argue a broader conception of what are legitimate uses of history: history is used by many kinds of agents and for many kinds of reasons, and history is always used to satisfy a need or interest, both among individuals and institutions. Thus, Karlsson's typology shows that people (and institutions) may use history for a number of reasons, that these uses relate to how we perceive history at a rather fundamental level, and that these uses stem from a personal need to find direction or meaning using the historical example. I have chosen to call the perspective that Nietzsche and Karlsson apply on uses of history a teleological one since it seeks to illustrate the needs to which a certain use of history corresponds.

To analyse cognitive or epistemic aspects of how individuals use history, I have chosen to apply Jörn Rüsens typology of historical narratives as pre- sented above. The idea here is that when individuals use history to satisfy certain needs (i.e. when they use history teleologically) they can do so in different ways depending on how they perceive history. A narrative that uses history *traditionally* (i.e. a constructivist narrative that presents history in a factual way) could be regarded as indicative of a view of history as something unaffected by the context in which it was conceived or received. A narrative that uses history *critically* (i.e. a narrative that seeks to question or criticise) could be regarded as an indication of a view of history that acknowledges history as contextually contingent, but excludes the subjective position from this analysis. Finally, a narrative that uses history *genetically* (i.e. a narrative that engages with the dynamic and contingent character of history) can be seen as an indication of a view of history that incorporates both the historiographic gaze and the personal subjective position in the analyses of the con- textual contingency of history. I have chosen to call these uses of history narratological since they illustrate the narratological properties that uses of history may have. Taken together, these two dimensions of uses of history may be applied to analyse why we use history the way we do, and also how we do it, and thus they can be used to shed light on how our manifestations of history relate to how we perceive it. A concept that deals explicitly with the more intricate and complex question of how we perceive history is historical consciousness.

Historical Consciousness

In a sense, an individual's use of history can be regarded as an indicator of their historical consciousness since it stems from how individuals perceive

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[118] Klas-Göran Karlsson, 'Historiedidaktik: Begrepp, teori och analys', in *Historien är nu: En introduktion till historiedidaktiken*, ed. Ulf Zander and Klas-Göran Karlsson (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2009), 58.

and understand history.[119] Hans-Georg Gadamer has claimed that historical consciousness is the epistemological condition of modern man and that it is one of the most important developments in the last 500 years. In Gadamer's view, historical consciousness is the awareness that everything around us is historical and relative to this fact, this historicity.[120] When we appreciate the historicity of everything around us and of all of our views, i.e. that everything is contingent on historical factors (even history itself), we come to under- stand that we must engage critically with everything we experience, perceive and believe. Hence, our interpretations of the world around us and of history are contextually contingent, as are the various categories we use to discern matters about the world and history. The historical consciousness of modern humanity enables us to critically assess and interpret the world around us, and it becomes the only way we can reach knowledge, according to Gada- mer.[121] Thus, historical consciousness can be understood as a hermeneutical- ly inspired concept that deals with the totality of history and historical understanding since it takes a meta-perspective on history and individuals' conceptions of history. The emergence of this modern historical conscious- ness is argued to date back to the late 17th and early 18th centuries, and was the result of a new method of reading the classical histories of Ancient Greece.[122] Instead of doing only textual analyses of the classical texts, French Enlightenment philosopher Bodin argued that it was equally important to take into account the historical context in which the texts were conceived.[123]

Historical consciousness became a key concept in history didactics in West Germany in the 1960's in the debate about whether positivist knowledge of history is possible. Left-wing oriented West German philoso- phers, historians and sociologists criticised the dominant positivist historical tradition.[124] According to this group, history should be taught and used emancipatorically in society. Through studies of the historical realities that lie behind the structures in society, individuals would realise the historicity and contextual contingencies of the traditions and structures that permeate society, and thus be able to break free from the limitations placed on them by society.[125] The concept was then introduced to Sweden from West Germany

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[119] See Jensen, 'Historiemedvetande - begreppsanalys, samhällsteori, didaktik', 44–46.

[120] Hans-Georg Gadamer, 'The Problem of Historical Consciousness', ed. Erick Raphael Jimenez et al., *Graduate Faculty Philosophy Journal* 5, no. 1 (1975): 8.

[121] Ibid., 47–48.

[122] John Lukacs, *Historical Consciousness: The Remembered Past* (Transaction Publishers, 1985), 10–16; Yves Charles Zarka, 'The Construction of Historical Consciousness', *British Journal for the History of Philos- ophy* 12, no. 3 (2004): 416.

[123] Zarka, 'The Construction of Historical Consciousness', 416.

[124] Georg G. Iggers, *New Directions in European Historiography* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan U.P., 1984), 116–18.

[125] See Ammert, *Det osamtidigas samtidighet*, 41; Klas-Göran Karlsson, 'Historiedidaktiken och historieve- tenskapen - ett spänningsfyllt förhållande', in *Historiedidaktik*, ed. Christer Karlegärd and Klas-Göran Karls- son (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 1997), 24–25.

via Denmark in the early 1980's. The understanding of the concept in Swe- den is highly influenced by the German view of historical consciousness as an individual concept that deals with how human beings perceive them- selves, the world around them and the history therein.[126] Since the mid 1990's historical consciousness has become one of the most central notions in Swedish history didactics and history education.[127]

German historian Karl-Ernst Jeismann is generally perceived to have been the first person to offer a definition of historical consciousness.[128] According to Jeismann a historical consciousness should be understood as the ever- present awareness that all human beings and all forms of social integration they have created exist in time, meaning that they have a history and a future and are dynamic.[129] I interpret this definition of the concept to rest heavily on Hans-Georg Gadamer's view of historical consciousness as an awareness of the historicity (understood as *being in time*) and contextual contingency of human reality. Jeismann also specifies the constituents of a historical consciousness. His view is that besides historical facts, a historical con- sciousness should also incorporate the connection between the interpreta- tion of the past, understanding of the present and perspective on the fu- ture.[130] In my view, this also resembles Gadamer's view of the hermeneutical circle. We interpret the past in order to understand the present and guide future action. According to Jeismann a historical consciousness is manifest- ed in representations and conceptions of the world (since they are all an effect of the historicity specified in the definition). Finally, Jeismann then applies a historical consciousness to an understanding of how contextual contingency affects our representations of history and how this is perceived to safeguard a kind of common ground for rationality.[131] Thus, historical consciousness is defined as an awareness of historicity that is constituted by interpretation of the past, understanding of the present and perspective on the future. A historical consciousness is manifested in human representa- tions and conceptions, and results in an understanding or appreciation of how contextual contingency is the nature of *all* human representations and conceptions and thus safeguards common human rationality.

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[126] Karlsson, 'Historiedidaktik: Begrepp, teori och analys', 27–34.

[127] See Bengt Schüllerqvist, *Svensk historiedidaktisk forskning*, Vetenskapsrådets rapportserie, 1651-7350; 2005:9 (Stockholm: Vetenskapsrådet, 2005), 136–40.

[128] See Halvdan Eikeland, 'Begrepet Historiebevissthet, historiedidaktisk forskning og dannelse av historie-
bevissthet', in *Historiedidaktik i Norden 6: Historiemedvetandet - teori og praksis*, ed. Sirkka Ahonen et al. (København: Institut for historie og samfundsfag, Danmarks Lærerhøjskole, 1997), 77–79; Karlsson, 'Histori- edidaktik: Begrepp, teori och analys', 25.

[129] Karl-Ernst Jeismann, 'Geschichtsbewußtsein', in *Handbuch Der Geschichtsdidaktik*, ed. Klaus Bergmann et al., 1st ed. (Düsseldorf: Pädagogischer Verlag Schwann, 1979), 42.

[130] Ibid.

[131] Ibid., 44.

Summary

This section has sought to specify the theoretical assumptions that underlie the studies in this thesis. Hermeneutics is used as the over-arching theoreti- cal perspective, arguing that perception, interpretation and representation are crucial both in scientific research, generally, and in history, particularly. Arguing that contextual contingency is what characterises interpretation and representation in history, the history didactical concepts of historical culture, uses of history and historical consciousness are then introduced as the theo- retical tools that have been applied to specify research problems, design the research project and analyse the empirical data that has been collected. Since the notions of historical culture and historical consciousness are abstract in character, the notion and concept of uses of history has become the central one in the empirical part of this study.

The theoretical position outlined here stresses the relevance of context in how we come to understand the world, ourselves and history. The im- portance of an awareness of, and engagement with, how our preconceptions affect how we come to understand and derive meaning of the world is speci- fied by the hermeneutic position taken here. This awareness is held to be centrally important as related to history. It is argued that a key characteristic of history is that it consists of interpretive reconstructions of the past. This means that historians need to engage with both the context of the historical source at hand, and also the context of their own research and meaning-making. Thus, history is contextually contingent and dynamic. The history didactical concepts of historical culture, historical consciousness and uses of history, are then introduced and applied as notions we may use to under- stand and analyse how history is disseminated and understood both on an individual and a societal level.

Methodology

This section specifies the research methods applied in this research project and relates them to the project's aim and research questions. The section begins by outlining the chosen research design for the project. This is fol- lowed by a presentation of the theoretical approach taken, the data collection procedure and the coding of the empirical data. The final sub-section pre- sents ethical considerations.

Research Design and Material

To enable a broad and comprehensive study of how historical culture is both constituted in historical media and history teachers' narratives and imple- mented teaching, a variation of approaches has been applied. One goal was to define, specify and operationalise a history didactic theoretical framework that would enable analyses of how historical culture is constituted by both historical media and history teachers. Another goal was to uncover aspects of how history is portrayed in historical media from the perspective of histori- cal culture. A further goal was to understand how history teachers interpret- ed, narrated and disseminated history as agents of and within historical cul- tures. In order to study both historical culture in an educational context and how teachers related to this, I chose to focus on a historical era that the teachers interviewed would have some kind of experience of, to unveil the complexities of personal experiences and how these may relate to how teach- ers narrate and teach history. One such era is the Cold War era of 1945-1989. I have interpreted the Cold War loosely as all events that took place during these years. So, for something to be classified as belonging to the Cold War era it does not have to relate to the struggle between the USSR and the USA specifically, but can also relate to both international and domestic history as well as social and political history. The teachers included in this study were born no later than 1970 and were all trained and experienced lower second- ary school history teachers. To study how historical culture is constituted in historical media, I chose to include accounts of history from history text- books and popular history magazines, two historical media that are particu- larly relevant in an educational context.[132]

A Deductive Approach

The analytical theoretical approach applied can be most accurately labelled as deductive since I have used a specific theoretical perspective to derive assumptions and hypotheses, and to generate theories that I have used to

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[132] Concerning popular history magazines from a history didactical perspective, see Popp, 'Popular History Magazines between Transmission of Knowledge and Entertainment - Some Theoretical Remarks', 42.

choose, analyse and categorise the empirical data in this study.[133] Further- more, the theories developed have been modified throughout the articles and adapted according to both the aims and research questions of the individual studies, and also according to the empirical data at hand.[134] Hence, the theo- retical approaches in the four articles included here differ although they share the same basic theoretical assumptions. More specific descriptions of how I have coded the empirical material using this framework can be found in the individual articles included in this thesis.

Historical culture and perceptions thereof is the main focus of this study, and, as has been described above, the notion of historical culture should be perceived as dealing with the relations to history that may exist in a certain society or environment.[135] Accordingly, historical culture should be under- stood as a collective notion that offers the individual a variety of approaches to history. This thesis is particularly interested in two aspects of historical culture: how is historical culture constituted in history textbooks and popu- lar history magazines, and how do teachers relate to history as portrayed in history textbooks and narrated by themselves? However, since historical culture (as with any notion of culture) is an abstract notion, there is a need to specify how it can be studied empirically, and why that is perceived to be the case. To do that, the concepts applied here are uses of history and historical consciousness. This requires an argument for, and explanation of, the rela- tion between these three concepts. The most fundamental assumption con- cerning the relationship between the concepts is that a historical culture should be perceived as a kind of discourse on history that precedes individu- als in any social environment. This historical culture discourse is seen as a pre-requisite for us to even approach history since without it there would be no history to speak of or to experience. Furthermore, it specifies what is meaningful in history and what is to be perceived as good history, and vice versa. In my understanding, an important aspect of historical culture is that it is man-made and thus contingent; without upholders and supporters a historical culture will disappear. According to the theoretical model present- ed here, we enact and constitute a historical culture through our uses of his- tory. Whenever we engage with history we activate certain parts of a histori- cal culture, or in other words we engage with a certain historical discourse and through this engagement we represent (or re-represent) and reify this particular discourse on history.

Thus, uses of history are manifested in accounts or representations of history (e.g. texts, films, presentations, et cetera). However, it is important

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[133] See Earl Babbie, *The Basics of Social Research* (Cengage Learning, 2010), 52.
[134] See Roel Snieder and Ken Larner, *The Art of Being a Scientist: A Guide for Graduate Students and Their Mentors* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 16.
[135] See Karlsson, 'Historiedidaktik: Begrepp, teori och analys', 34.

for the argument of this thesis to analyse *how* history teachers approach history and historical culture, i.e. we need to specify how a certain use of history relates to a certain cognitive disposition or perceived need or interest within an individual. These matters are discussed further in the section be- low presenting the results.

Data Collection

History Textbooks and Popular History Magazines

To be able to analyse historical media from the perspective of historical cul- ture, various approaches were used. The term *historical media* can be argued to be a rather elastic one and include practically any media that disseminates a historical content.[136] For this reason, I chose to limit the study to include history textbooks and popular history magazines since I wanted to have a sample of historical media that was used in an educational context and that was produced both specifically for that context (i.e. history textbooks) and for a wider audience (i.e. popular history magazines). The assumption here was that a combination of these two historical media could be used to form a view of how history is presented both in school and in society, meaning that it could display aspects of historical culture both in a specifically educational context and also in society at large. Thus, these media were studied for the same purpose, even though they were intended for different audiences.

Although the historical media studied deal with different historical events (the textbooks have been studied from the perspective of the outbreak of the Cold War and the popular history magazines deal with why the First World War broke out), they deal with similar aspects of historical events. Both por- tray representations of the reasons underlying the eruption of military con- flicts. However, one important difference between the history textbooks and popular history magazines is that they have differing origins. All the history textbooks studied were Swedish (and can thus be presumed to be related to the same national historical cultures), and the popular history magazines were from five different European countries (i.e. Poland, the UK, Germany, Spain and Sweden[137]). Thus, these magazines cannot be used to shed light on a specifically Swedish historical culture. Instead they served the purpose of specifying and applying a framework of uses of history that was highly rele- vant to the other studies included in this thesis. Furthermore, the results from the study stress the importance of a critical awareness of the narrato- logical and historiographical properties of historical narratives in an educa-

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[136] See Thorp, *Historical Consciousness, Historical Media, and History Education*, 13.

[137] These articles were chosen through the international research project EHISTO directed by Professor Susanne Popp, see http://www.european-crossroads.de/ for further information on the project and access to educational material (including the articles included here).

tional context, thus aligning with the other studies included in this thesis. The second article included here presents the results from this study.[138]

To find relevant textbooks for the studies I consulted the Swedish library database (libris.kb.se) and searched for 'history textbook' (in Swedish 'lärobok historia'). This search returned over 1 000 results, and in order to find matches relevant to this study, I included textbooks that were published after 1999 that were specifically intended to be used for history teaching at Swedish lower secondary schools (i.e. ages 13-15). This was to enable a broadstudy of contemporary lower secondary school history textbooks used in Swedish history education. This left me with 13 textbooks. These were:

- *Historieboken*[139]
- *SO Direkt Historia Ämnesboken*[140]
- *Historia kompakt*[141]
- *Historien pågår*[142]
- *Historia: liv i förändring*[143]
- *Levande historia*[144]
- *Historia 3*[145]
- *Historia: För grundskolans senare del*[146]
- *Impuls historia 1-3*[147]
- *Historia 9*[148]
- *Prio Historia 9*[149]
- *Historia utkik*[150]

The sections of these textbooks that covered the historical development from the end of World War 2 in 1945 until the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, were studied extensively both in terms of narrative content and use of images. This meant that sections on social aspects as well as foreign and domestic policies and developments that took place between 1945 and 1989 were in-

[138] Thorp, 'Popular History Magazines and History Education'.
[139] Bengt Almgren, *Historieboken: En lärobok för grundskolans senare del*, SO Direkt, 99-2308463-9 (Stockholm: Bonnier utbildning, 1999).
[140] Bengt Almgren et al., *SO Direkt Historia ämnesboken* (Stockholm: Sanoma Utbildning, 1999).
[141] Hans Almgren, Stefan Wikén and Birgitta Almgren, *Historia kompakt*, 2nd ed. (Malmö: Gleerups, 1999).
[142] Marika Hedin and Robert Sandberg, *Historien pågår* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1999).
[143] Karin Sjöbeck and Birgitta Melén, *Historia: Liv i förändring, del B* (Malmö: Interskol, 2002).
[144] Lars Hildingson and Kaj Hildingson, *Levande historia: Elevbok*, 1st ed., SOL 3000 (Stockholm: Natur och kultur, 2003).
[145] Bengt Almgren, *Historia. 3*, SO Direkt, 99-2308463-9 (Stockholm: Bonnier utbildning, 2005).
[146] Göran Körner and Lars Lagheim, *Historia: För grundskolans senare del. Grundbok*, Puls (Stockholm: Natur och kultur, 2002).
[147] Göran Körner and Lars Lagheim, *Impuls Historia 1-3* (Stockholm: Natur & Kultur, 2009).
[148] Mattias Tordai, *Historia 9*, 3rd ed., SOS-Serien (Stockholm: Liber, 2012).
[149] Bengt Almgren et al., *PRIO Historia 9* (Stockholm: Sanoma Utbildning, 2013), 9.
[150] Erik Nilsson, Hans Olofsson and Rolf Uppström, *Historia 7-9*, Utkik (Malmö: Gleerups, 2013).

cluded in the study. The section of the development of Sweden after 1945 in one of the textbooks[151] was used for the study presented in the first article of this thesis.[152] All of the textbooks except one[153] were used for the study pre- sented in the third article of this thesis.[154]

History Teachers

In order to analyse how teachers relate to historical culture, historical media and history, I chose to contact teachers that had experience of teaching the Cold War in Swedish lower secondary school that were born no later than 1970. This was to make sure that they would have reached late adolescence or adulthood by 1989 and hence have had a possibility to form their own memories and experiences of the period until 1989. I considered that ten teachers would be an appropriate number of teachers since that would allow me to interview them at greater length. It would also provide a large enough sample to presumably display some characteristics regarding how Swedish lower secondary school teachers approach historical media portraying cer- tain aspects of the Cold War, as well as their experiences of the Cold War era. To find relevant teachers to include in the study, I began by contacting head teachers at schools in the central regions of Sweden. I presented the research project briefly to the head teachers and enquired whether there were teach- ers at their schools that fit the criteria for inclusion and that might be inter- ested in participating in my study. I also asked permission from the head teachers to contact these teachers. When such permission had been granted in writing, I contacted the teachers and explained how I had acquired their contact details and the aims of my research project. Once I had received written consent to participate in the study from ten teachers, I ceased con- tacting further head teachers and schools. Of the teachers that agreed to participate, there were an equal number of male and female teachers. Three of the teachers were born in the 1950's, six were born in the 1960's, and one was born in 1970. Nine of the teachers worked in small to medium-sized Swedish towns and one teacher worked in a large Swedish city. The teachers came from varied social backgrounds, but most of the teachers, six of them, came from what could be called working class backgrounds. The majority of the teachers had worked in other professions and had studied to become teachers after the age of 30. Only one of the teachers interviewed had solely worked as a teacher for their entire professional career.

All teachers were interviewed about their interpretations of quotations re- lating to the Cold War. The quotations were ambivalent in character, i.e. the

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[151] Körner and Lagheim, *Historia*, 340–50.
[152] Thorp, 'Historical Consciousness and Historical Media'.
[153] This textbook was not included for this study since it contained the exact same narrative of the Cold War period as in a textbook written by the same authors that was published at a later date (*Impuls Historia 1-3*).
[154] Thorp, 'Representation and Interpretation'.

meanings of the quotations were hard to determine and they could be read in a number of ways. During the interviews the teachers were shown four quo- tations that had been selected from German, Swedish and Swiss history text- books that dealt with different aspects of the Cold War. The teachers were asked to read the quotations and then answer a number of questions that related to how they interpreted the meaning of the quotation, how it related to a public historical culture, and what their personal opinion of the quoted text was. All interviews were conducted at the teachers' respective schools at a time and place of their own choosing. All the interviews were audio record- ed and transcribed shortly afterwards. The assumption behind using the ambivalent quotation interview was that the teachers would have to make their implicit assumptions of the Cold War explicit in order to render the quotations meaningful and to deal with the ambivalences in them. The quo- tations would render longer answers from the teachers in which they would have to engage with the quotations to make sense of them. Furthermore, it was assumed that information could be gathered on how teachers engaged with textbook narratives from a cognitive perspective.

Nine of the teachers also participated in an autobiographical interview in which they were asked to relate their experiences of growing up during the Cold War era and how that may have influenced them as history teachers. The cue they were given was 'Tell me about your life from as far back as you can remember and how it has shaped you as a history teacher.' These inter- views lasted between 60 to 90 minutes and, like the ambivalent quotation interviews, the interviews were conducted at the teachers' respective schools at a time and place of the teachers' choosing. These interviews were also audio-recorded and transcribed shortly afterwards. The assumption here was that the teachers' narratives of growing up during the Cold War era, and how that has affected them as history teachers, would shed light on how they perceived the Swedish educational historical culture concerning the Cold War and enable analyses of how they related to the Cold War at a more per- sonal level. Since I did not want my data to be limited only to how teachers *talk* about their interpretations of narratives and experiences of the Cold War period, I chose to observe two of the participating teachers when they *taught* the Cold War unit in class. This enabled comparisons between how the teachers talked about the Cold War during interviews with me, and how they carried out their teaching. The teachers who agreed to be observed dur- ing the teaching of the Cold War were also interviewed a third time. This interview took place after the classroom observations and here I asked the teachers how they had experienced the teaching unit on the Cold War, what they had thought of when planning and preparing the teaching unit, and why they thought pupils should study the Cold War. These interviews were also conducted at the teachers' schools and they were also audio-recorded and transcribed.

For the first of the two articles focusing on teachers,[155] I used one of the quotations from the ambivalence interviews. The reason I chose this particu- lar quotation was that it rendered long answers from all participating teach- ers and it dealt with a topic that is central in the narratives of the Cold War in the lower secondary school textbooks studied: the emergence of the Cold War conflict. This would make comparisons between the teachers' answers and the narratives in the textbooks easier. I chose to apply a methodology inspired by one previously applied by American researcher Sam Wine- burg.[156] I asked the teachers to tell me what they were thinking as they read the quotation. My objective was to gain knowledge of how teachers situated in a dominant public historical culture (as portrayed in history textbooks) relate to aspects of that same historical culture. Therefore I deliberately pre- sented them a narrative that contrasted with what is usually narrated in con- temporary Swedish lower secondary school textbooks since it did not make a clear stand regarding who was to blame for the Cold War.

For the second of the studies concerning history teachers included in this thesis,[157] I used the autobiographical interviews of two teachers. These teachers were also observed during teaching and they were interviewed after the teaching unit. When analysing the teachers' autobiographical interviews, I chose to only include the sections of the interviews that specifically dealt with the Cold War, i.e. I omitted sections that dealt with general accounts of childhood experiences, schooling, popular culture, et cetera. This study was meant to complement the previous one in the sense that it did not only in- clude the interviews with the teachers about how they interpreted textbook narratives, but instead tried to gain knowledge about the context in which educational and historical media is used. It aimed to find out how the teach- ers' narrated personal experiences of the Cold War related to the textbook narratives of the Cold War, and how the teachers enacted these narratives in teaching. Thus, this study was intended to provide a broad perspective on how the history teachers interpreted a textbook narrative.

Taken together this methodological approach enabled studies of how his- tory is portrayed and historical culture constituted both regarding history textbooks and popular history magazines. Furthermore, through the inter- views and classroom observations, a practice-oriented approach was enabled that allowed analyses of how historical media are interpreted and applied in an educational context.

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[155] Ibid.

[156] Sam Wineburg, 'Reading Abraham Lincoln: An Expert/expert Study in the Interpretation of Historical Texts', *Cognitive Science* 22, no. 3 (July 1998): 319–46.

[157] Thorp, 'Experiencing, Using, and Teaching History'.

Application of Theoretical Framework and Coding of Em-pirical Data

A crucial aspect of empirical research is to specify how the theoretical tools of a study have been applied to analyse various phenomena. Since the stud- ies included here apply the same theoretical framework and tools to different data, it is also important to specify how the theoretical framework has been adapted to appropriate the differing characteristics of these data. Further- more, it is also important to specify what I have discerned to be instances of the theoretical categories I have applied in the empirical data, i.e. what char- acteristics of the empirical data constitute a certain theoretical category, and why do I hold that to be the case? Another issue that I encountered in my research was the need to modify or adapt the theoretical tools I had chosen to apply. A keen observer will notice that while the theoretical approach of all the studies included in this thesis is the same, I have modified the theoretical tools between the different studies. This means that the theoretical tools that I applied in the first article included here are not identical to the ones ap- plied in the fourth article. This can be explained by differing perspectives between these studies, and also by the fact that I felt a need to modify and improve the theoretical approach of the earlier studies. While this could be argued to be a weakness of a study, I would instead argue that it shows that I have striven to critically engage with the chosen theoretical approach in or- der to make it more coherent, fitting and versatile.

The main theoretical tool that I have applied throughout the studies in this thesis is the concept of uses of history. As written above, I have chosen to apply two dimensions of the concept in order to capture both psychologi- cal and cognitive aspects of individuals' uses of history. In the first study included here I named these dimensions the *what* and *how* dimensions of uses of history. The idea was that Karlsson's typology of uses of history would correspond to what kind of use of history people make, and that Rüsen's typology would correspond to how they apply that use. Later on I chose to change the names of these dimensions to *teleological* uses of history (corresponding to Karlsson's typology) and *narratological* uses of history (corresponding to Rüsen's typology). The reason for this change was that the 'what' denomination was misleading since both dimensions answer to the question of *what* the use of history is, only from different perspectives. I found that the new names to the dimensions corresponded better to the basic characteristics of the two typologies.

Another matter that had to be addressed related to what the objects of study in the four studies were. In the first study I analysed textbook narra- tives, in the second study I analysed narratives in popular history magazines, in the third study I analysed textbook narratives and teachers' interpreta- tions of a textbook quotation. Lastly, in the fourth study I analysed teachers' accounts of their experiences of growing up during the Cold War, their ob-

served teaching, and their accounts of how they experienced the teaching units on the Cold War, what they had considered when planning the unit, and why they thought the Cold War should be taught. On an analytical level, these different kinds of data are all narratives: the textbooks and popular history magazines present various narratives on history, the teachers' inter- pretations of textbook quotations also take on the form of narrative, and the same goes for the other teacher interviews and classroom observations (what I analysed there were the accounts the teachers and historical media pre- sented to the pupils). Thus, the concept of uses of history was applied to various narratives.

As I discuss in greater detail below, there are problems in applying Karls- son's typology of uses of history to narratives since it relates to the psycho- logical traits of the author of these uses and these are not to be found on the level of the narrative. Rather, they have to be analysed implicitly in narra- tives, which made the analyses according to this typology analytically chal- lenging when analysing narratives that did not refer back directly to the au- thor. In other words, when a textbook or a teacher relates to a historical event or chain of events that reside 'outside' of them, it is hard to tell what psychological needs or interests have caused this use. In this case, the typol- ogy should be applied with caution and rather be used as a kind of device to show possible ways of making implicit sense of what has been narrated ex- plicitly. However, in the fourth study included here, the teachers were asked to narrate how they thought history had affected them in their role as teacher and what they had taken into consideration when planning a teaching unit. Here the teleological uses of history were easier to analyse since the teachers made direct and explicit references to how certain historical events had af- fected them and why they had chosen to present the history of the Cold War the way they did. In this context, the teleological use of history corresponded explicitly to a professed aim or purpose with the historical example, and this facilitated the analyses.

The narratological uses of history were easier to analyse since they relate to the narratological properties the narratives had: how was the historical example treated and what awareness of the contextual contingencies of his- tory did it display? For these reasons, it is only what the narratives explicitly express regarding these properties that are analysed. One aspect of the nar- ratological uses of history that proved to be analytically difficult was to sepa- rate the traditional from the exemplary uses of history. In my view both these uses present history as something that is void of perspective and con- textual contingency. The historical narrative is presented as if it were trans- parent,[158] i.e. representations of historical facts are presented as if they were

[158] See Frank Ankersmit, 'Representation as a Cognitive Instrument', *History & Theory* 52, no. 2 (May 2013): 173–75.

historical facts, irrespective of whether we have narratives that strive to up- hold tradition or argue an example using history. In other words, even if the narratives have different agendas, they constitute cognitively similar ways to approach history, and were therefore analytically difficult to tell apart. For this reason I chose to modify Rüsen's typology and delete the exemplary typein the third and fourth articles included here.

It should also be noted that Jörn Rüsen's typology of four categories of historical consciousness that was used in the first article included here, was abandoned since these categories were difficult to discern empirically. For this reason I adopted an approach to historical consciousness that distinguishes between a non-reflexive one, i.e. a historical consciousness that does not display awareness of how multi-chronological aspects influence histori- cal narratives, and a reflexive one that displays such awareness.

Ethical Considerations

All teachers were informed of the aims and purposes of the study, that they could retract their participation at any time without giving any specific rea- son, and that the material would only be used for scientific purposes, and all gave their written consent to participate.[159] I strove to accommodate the teachers' requests regarding when and where they were interviewed, since it was their participation and willingness to devote time that made this re- search project possible. The teachers were interviewed at their workplaces and I specifically stated that I was interviewing them in their capacities as history teachers, thus trying to encourage more professional responses from them. I informed the teachers that some questions could be of a personal nature and that they should only answer the questions they felt comfortable answering. I also advised them to only share memories and personal opin- ions that they wanted to share, and that they should not feel obliged to pro- vide me with what they felt would be good or interesting data. The inter- views were audio-recorded and transcribed. All of the teachers have been anonymised for the studies included in this thesis and they have been given fictive names. When analysing the data collected from the teachers, I strove to interpret and represent the teachers' accounts and replies in as accurate a manner as possible. I have also striven to present a picture of the teachers that was as representative of them as possible taking all aspects of the col- lected material into consideration.

Since the value of qualitative research to a certain extent depends on the credibility of the interpretations and representations offered and the meth- odological soundness of the research design, I have striven to quote the em- pirical data used as much as possible in order to validate the interpretationsI have made and the conclusions I have drawn. I have also made an effort to

[159] See Vetenskapsrådet, *God forskningssed* (Stockholm: Vetenskapsrådet, 2011).

present the quoted data (e.g. the history textbooks, popular history maga- zines, and interviews with history teachers) in as representative a manner as possible. Furthermore, I have given a lot of space and time to describing the methodological approaches and procedures I used when working with the collected data in order to allow others to assess whether the conclusions I have drawn or the assessments I have made are scientifically sound.

Results

The results of the studies are presented below. The presentation is divided into four sections. The first section briefly summarises the most important results from the individual articles included in this thesis. The second section presents how the theoretical framework has been developed. The third sec- tion presents the aspects of historical culture that are constituted in the his- torical media studied. Finally, the fourth section presents how history teach- ers use history and relate to historical culture when interpreting historical media and carrying out history teaching. Hence, an effort has been made to present the results of the individual articles in aggregation rather than one by one in order to stress how these studies should be regarded as coherent and inter-related.

Brief Summary of the Articles Included

Historical Consciousness and Historical Media: A History Didac-tical Approach to Educational Media

This article is the first in which a methodology based on the notions of his- torical consciousness, uses of history and historical culture, according to the present view of the concepts, is applied. Its primary aim is to propose a framework of historical consciousness and to discuss the parts that could be pertinent for analysing historical media in terms of their ability to express and develop a historical consciousness.[160] The article analyses a section of a Swedish lower secondary history textbook portraying Swedish post World War II history, and applies certain aspects of the framework. It argues that it is important to include the uses and contexts in analyses of historical media according to the developed framework since a historical consciousness does not reside in textbooks or other historical media, but rather in the minds of authors and users of historical media. What we find in historical media are various uses of history (i.e. narrative enactments of history) that have been created by someone and that are interpreted by someone else.[161]

The analysis finds that the textbook section studied presents a narrative in which the traditional narratological use of history is the most dominant one, resulting in the tentative conclusion that the historical consciousness mani- fested by the textbook narrative is a traditional or exemplary one. History is presented is if it were void of perspective and interpretation, and we are of- fered a narrative that presents a factual reconstruction of the past. The nar- rative also seems to conform to what is perceived to be the dominant narra- tive mode in Swedish textbooks, suggesting a manifestation of a dominant

[160] Thorp, 'Historical Consciousness and Historical Media', 497. [161] Ibid., 502–3.

historical culture concerning how history is narrated in history textbooks.[162] Following these results it is argued that looking at how historical media are used is key in order to analyse their propensities for developing certain skills in their users. Furthermore, how we perceive history could be argued to be important as well since an awareness of narratological aspects of textbook narratives could facilitate critical analyses of history.[163]

Popular History Magazines and History Education

This article analyses how five articles from popular history magazines from five European countries portrayed the outbreak of the First World War in terms of the content they chose to include and the uses of history that were constituted by the articles. Even though all five articles were published in popular history magazines, they were all authored by professional historians.[164] The study finds that the articles use different approaches for explain- ing why the war broke out. We are offered causal explanations focusing on the assassinations of the Austro-Hungarian Arch Duke and his wife, the mo- tives and mind sets of the most dominating politicians in Europe, popular support for the war, structural reasons emanating popular nationalism and mere chance.[165]

Regarding uses of history, the articles are less diverse. The politico- pedagogical teleological use of history is the dominant one in the articles studied since they all focus on disseminating what is presented as the real reason why the First World War erupted. Closely connected to this is an ide- ological use of history that tries to convince the presumptive readers that this version of history is the most plausible one.[166] Narratologically the articles also present rather similar versions of history: narratives that use history traditionally are the most common ones. History is presented in a passive voice and we are presented with narratives that are devoid of the interpreta- tional and reconstructional practices that characterise history. One article was coded as using history genetically since it argued the contextual contin- gency of what is perceived to be historically meaningful when history is re- constructed and interpreted.[167] These results are used to argue that popular history magazines may be a welcome complement in history teaching since they can be used to discuss and analyse the importance of perspective in history, thus offering an opportunity to further a more disciplinary historical understanding.[168]

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[162] Ibid., 510–11.
[163] Ibid., 512-13.
[164] Thorp, 'Popular History Magazines and History Education', 105–6.
[165] Ibid., 106–7.
[166] Ibid., 107–8.
[167] Ibid., 108–9.
[168] Ibid., 109–10.

Representation and Interpretation: Textbooks, Teachers, and Historical Culture

This article presents a study of how contemporary Swedish lower secondary school textbooks present the emergence of the Cold War and how ten active lower secondary school history teachers interpreted a quotation that was ambiguous in relation to the general narrative in the studied Swedish text-books. Thus it analyses both the content of history textbooks and how active history teachers interpret an account from a history textbook.[169]

The study finds that the narratives presented in the textbooks studied are quite similar to each other both regarding the content they present and the uses of history they constitute. Regarding content, the majority of the text- book narratives have a marked Western bias since the Western perspective is normalised and in no need of justification. The USSR is to blame for the conflict and it is through their actions that the Cold War conflict escalates. The most prominent teleological uses of history are politico-pedagogical since the narratives set out to teach us about what happened when the Cold War emerged. The narratological uses of history are traditional and we are presented with narratives that are factual and devoid of perspective. Two textbooks were coded as using history critically since they had sections pre- senting both the Soviet and US perspective on the escalation of the crisis. The narratives in these textbooks used the passive voice and applied a narra- tology that told history 'as it happened.'[170] Using these examples it is argued that there seems to be a dominant historical culture in a Swedish educational context regarding how the Cold War emerged.

The teachers interviewed were presented with a narrative that could be regarded as ambivalent regarding which side was to blame for the emergence of the Cold War conflict. Despite this, the majority of the teachers interpret- ed the quotation as taking a Western stand. Still, the teachers generally acknowledged that textbook narratives are representations of history and contingent on perspective, but few teachers extended this to include how their own views affect their interpretations, suggesting an intermediary ap- preciation of the contextual contingency of historical narratives.[171] These results suggest that the teachers were affected by the historical cultural con- text they were situated in when they interpreted the narrative (since they interpreted the quotation as taking a pro-Western stand). The results also suggest the relevance of a reflexive historical consciousness that acknowl- edges the importance of an awareness of the contextual contingency that characterises history.[172]

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169 Thorp, 'Representation and Interpretation', 80–84.
170 Ibid., 84–89.
171 Ibid., 89–93.
172 Ibid., 93–94.

Experiencing, Using, and Teaching History: Aspects of Two His-tory Teachers' Relations to History and Historical Media

The fourth and final article presents a study of how two active Swedish lower secondary school teachers relate to and make sense of history through their own experiences and historical media. Using a combination of interviews and classroom observations, I strove to gain knowledge about the teaching of history by analysing the teachers' narratives of their personal experiences of the Cold War period of 1945-1989, as well as classroom observations of the teachers in practice when teaching the Cold War.[173]

The study finds that the personal experiences of the Cold War narrated by the teachers show great similarities to how the Cold War is narrated in Swe- dish educational media and history curricula. This suggests a reliance on what could be termed to be the dominant historical culture in Swedish edu- cation regarding the Cold War. The teachers neither engaged critically with their own positionality as interpreters and disseminators of history, nor with how the Cold War was presented in the historical media used in teaching.[174] The teachers made existential and politico-pedagogical teleological uses of history when talking during their interviews. It was evident that the Cold War had affected their views on life and the world, and they believed it was important to teach since it enabled their pupils to get a better understanding of the world today. Narratologically, the traditional use of history was the most prominent both during interviews and teaching. One of the teachers discussed how her upbringing may have caused difficulties in appreciating and understanding Soviet society, and this answer suggests a genetical use of history. When teaching, both teachers used history traditionally, however.[175]

These results are then used to discuss the importance of an awareness of the contextual contingency of historical representations and interpretations to develop and further critical competencies in history education, both among teachers and pupils. Given the dominance of a certain narrative about the Cold War, both in historical media and in teachers' narratives about their experiences of growing up during the era, an awareness of how this may affect how we approach the topic seems important in history teaching. The teaching observed did not engage critically with how the Cold War is framed in Swedish historical culture (as expressed in history textbooks, educational media and history curricula). I therefore argue the importance of a focus on historical consciousness in relation to history teaching to enable teachers to use history genetically and stress historicity as an important characteristic of history. Without an expressed awareness of the contextual contingencies that characterise not only historical representations but also our interpretation

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173 Thorp, 'Experiencing, Using, and Teaching History', 1–3. 174 Ibid., 8–12.
175 Ibid., 12–13.

and dissemination of them, one certain narrative of the past is reinforced and made dominant through history education.[176]

A History Didactical Framework

As was argued in the beginning of this introductory chapter, the history di- dactical theoretical concepts of uses of history, historical culture and histori- cal consciousness are in need of further theoretical inquiry in order to be applied in empirical studies. Since this research project aimed at analysing how historical media and history teachers constitute and relate to historical culture, it was essential to develop, specify, operationalise and apply a theo- retical framework based on these concepts in order for the research project to succeed. The main results of this endeavour are presented below.

Specifying Historical Consciousness

In the theoretical section, I defined historical consciousness as an awareness of historicity that can be applied to understand how history is characterised by contextual contingency. This view of the concept differs from the one gen- erally stipulated in Swedish and international research on historical con- sciousness. Instead, historical consciousness is usually defined as the rela- tion between interpretation of the past, understanding of the present and perspective on the future.[177] This definition is often ascribed German histori- an Karl-Ernst Jeismann.[178] If we look at how Jeismann defines the concept we do, however, find that:

> By historical consciousness we mean the permanent presence of the awareness that mankind and all social institutions and forms of co- existence created by us exist in time, i.e. they have an origin and a fu- ture and represent nothing unchangeably or unconditionally (Schieder, 1974, p. 78f). Besides the mere knowledge of or interest in history, a historical consciousness also incorporates the relationship between in- terpretation of the past, understanding of the present and perspective on the future. Since history cannot be perceived as an image of past re- alities, but can only be made aware through selection and interpretive reconstruction, historical consciousness is the awareness that the past is present in representations and conceptions. "History is the recon- struction, by and for the living, of dead people's lives. Thus history is

176 Ibid., 14–16.

177 See Sirkka Ahonen, 'Historical Consciousness: A Viable Paradigm for History Education?', *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 37, no. 6 (2005): 699.

178 See Ammert, *Det osamtidigas samtidighet*, 56; Jensen, 'Historiemedvetande - begreppsanalys, samhälls- teori, didaktik', 53; Karlsson, 'Historiedidaktik: Begrepp, teori och analys', 48.

> born through the contemporary interest that thinking, suffering and acting people have for exploring the past" (Aron, 1961, p. 17).[179]

I interpret this to mean that Jeismann views an awareness of historicity as the definition of historical consciousness. This awareness is constituted by knowledge of and interest in the past, and the relationship between interpre- tation of the past, understanding of the present and perspectives on the fu- ture. This awareness is then manifested in how the past is present in reconstructions and conceptions. Jeismann further writes that:

> [t]hrough methodological reflection, [a historical enlightenment] […] will lead the bearer of historical consciousness to an awareness of the conditions under which he himself formulates his image of history and to an understanding of why there are different contents and forms of historical consciousness that refer to the 'same' past […]. This is the re- quirement for the enablement of a discussion of different historical and political interpretations and that [the proponents of these] shall be able to criticise and accept each other.[180]

I read this as relating to how a historical consciousness can be applied to human cognition. Through methodological reflection we will gain an under- standing of how all history is contingent on interpretation and representa- tion. Since this is something that characterises all history, this is also some- thing which the proponents of differing interpretations and representations of the past can agree upon. Thus, a historical consciousness can be applied as a basis for a common rationality: we can agree that we disagree and we can inquire into why that happens to be the case. This can also be argued to be the reason why a historical consciousness is an important concept in history education and elsewhere. The awareness that characterises a historical con- sciousness is manifested in how the past is present in representations and conceptions, and is applied to enable us with an understanding of how all history is contingent on context.

However, in some Swedish research on historical consciousness, emphasis has been placed on what Jeismann argues to be the constituents of a histori- cal consciousness, rather than an awareness of historicity. This has lead to a focus on historical consciousness as similar to interpretation of the past, understanding of the present and perspective on the future, and thus equat- ed the concept to these constituents, something Jeismann holds to be prob- lematic.[181] This approach to the concept has lead to analyses of historical

[179] Jeismann, 'Geschichtsbewußtsein', 42. My translation.
[180] Ibid., 44. My translation.
[181] Jeismann, 'Geschichtsbewußtsein - Theorie', 43.

consciousness searching for whether respondents or historical accounts in- corporate past, present and future considerations in their narratives.[182] However, it is hard to see how this multi- chronological incorporation[183] re- lates to an understanding of historicity and contextual contingency regarding representations and conceptions, as outlined by Jeismann (and Gadamer). Instead I think we should move towards the *understanding* that multi- chronological incorporation can develop in individuals, and this understand- ing could be perceived as the awareness that Jeismann's definition stipu- lates.[184] Hence, the idea is that considerations of past, present and future perspectives enable the individual to understand how all representations and conceptions are characterised by contextual contingency since they are situ- ated within certain contexts and thus contingent on these. This view of the concept of historical consciousness avoids conflating it with interpretation of the past, understanding of the present and anticipation of the future and aligns with Jeismann's view of the concept and the outlined theoretical ap- proach.

Generally, historical consciousness is regarded as being manifested in his- torical narratives and uses of history, and Jörn Rüsen has advocated that a historical consciousness is a narrative competency that individuals have.[185] As I have argued above, narratives that deal with history constitute uses of history. Following this logic, one can say that a historical consciousness is manifested in narratives that deal with history. But what kind of narrative competency could that be, and how can we specify a connection between a use of history and a historical consciousness? To answer these questions I think we need to return to how Jeismann claims a historical consciousness is manifested. He argues that a historical consciousness is how the past is pre- sent in representations and conceptions. I interpret this to mean that history comes alive (or is kept alive) in our contemporary representations and con- ceptions. This should not be taken literally or out of context, however, be- cause then we might end up with a view that claims that a historical con- sciousness equals representations and conceptions, which is not a plausible way of approaching the concept, for obvious reasons. We should instead reiterate the definition offered by Jeismann to make better sense of this: he

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[182] See Ammert, *Det osamtidigas samtidighet*; Arndt Clavier, *'Mänsklighetens största problem genom alla tider': En receptionsstudie av elevers miljöberättelser och historiska meningsskapande 1969* (Lund: Lunds universitet, 2011); Nanny Hartsmar, *Historiemedvetande: Elevers tidsförståelse i en skolkontext*, Studia Psychologica et Paedagogica. Series Altera, 0346-5926; 155 (Malmö: Institutionen för pedagogik, Lärarhögsk., 2001); Mary Ingemansson, *'Det kunde lika gärna ha hänt idag': Maj Bylocks Drakskeppstrilogi och histori- emedvetande hos barn i mellanåldrarna* (Göteborg: Makadam förlag, 2010).

[183] See Ammert, *Det osamtidigas samtidighet*, 49, 55–56.

[184] Robert Thorp, 'Towards an Epistemological Theory of Historical Consciousness', *Historical Encounters: A Journal of Historical Consciousness, Historical Cultures, and History Education* 1, no. 1 (30 June 2014): 20–31.

[185] Rüsen, 'Historical Consciousness: Narrative, Structure, Moral Function, and Ontogenetic Development', 69.

Conclusion

The aim of this thesis was to analyse and discuss how historical culture is constituted in historical media and history teachers' narratives and teaching. An underlying assumption with this approach was that history teachers would have to perform various roles due to the fact that they have personal recollections and experiences of history at the same time as they perform the official role of teaching history to pupils. This in turn pointed towards the relevance of historical culture aspects of history education both from the perspective of the educational media employed in teaching and how teachers relate to these.

The research presented showed how the historical media studied (i.e. his- tory textbooks and popular history magazines) show great similarities in terms of how history is used narratologically. The dominating use was one that presents historical narrative as something devoid of interpretational and representational practices since history is presented as something factual and certain. Furthermore, the studies of Swedish lower secondary school history textbooks showed that these textbooks display a dominant way of narrating the outbreak of the Cold War, one that posited the USSR as the instigator and blamed 'Other' of this conflict. From a historical cultural per- spective this shows two things about the studied historical media: (i) history is generally presented as if it were not the result of interpretation and repre- sentation but rather factual in kind, and (ii) Swedish lower secondary school history textbooks manifest one particular narrative and perspective regard- ing a historical chain of events related to the Cold War. These two findings indicate the importance of an awareness of users of these historical media that history is characterised by a critical engagement with contextual contin- gencies in narratives and interpretations thereof, in order to counter this dominant narratological use of history.

Furthermore, the studies found that the history teachers interviewed and observed encountered difficulties in engaging with the complexities of his- torical narratives and their own relations to them. When asked to interpret a textbook quotation relating the outbreak of the Cold War, the majority of the teachers engaged critically with the historical account but not with their own preconceptions of the Cold War. When two teachers were asked to relate their own experiences of growing up during the Cold War era, and when they were observed teaching the Cold War in class, the same teachers that had both displayed narratological uses of history through their engagement with historical cultural aspects of history when interpreting the textbook quota- tion, chose not to engage with these aspects in class or when they were asked to relate their own experiences of growing up during the Cold War era. Par- ticularly when teaching the Cold War, these teachers narrated the Cold War